

PAPERS
OF THE
AMERICAN
SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

VOLUME II. PART I.

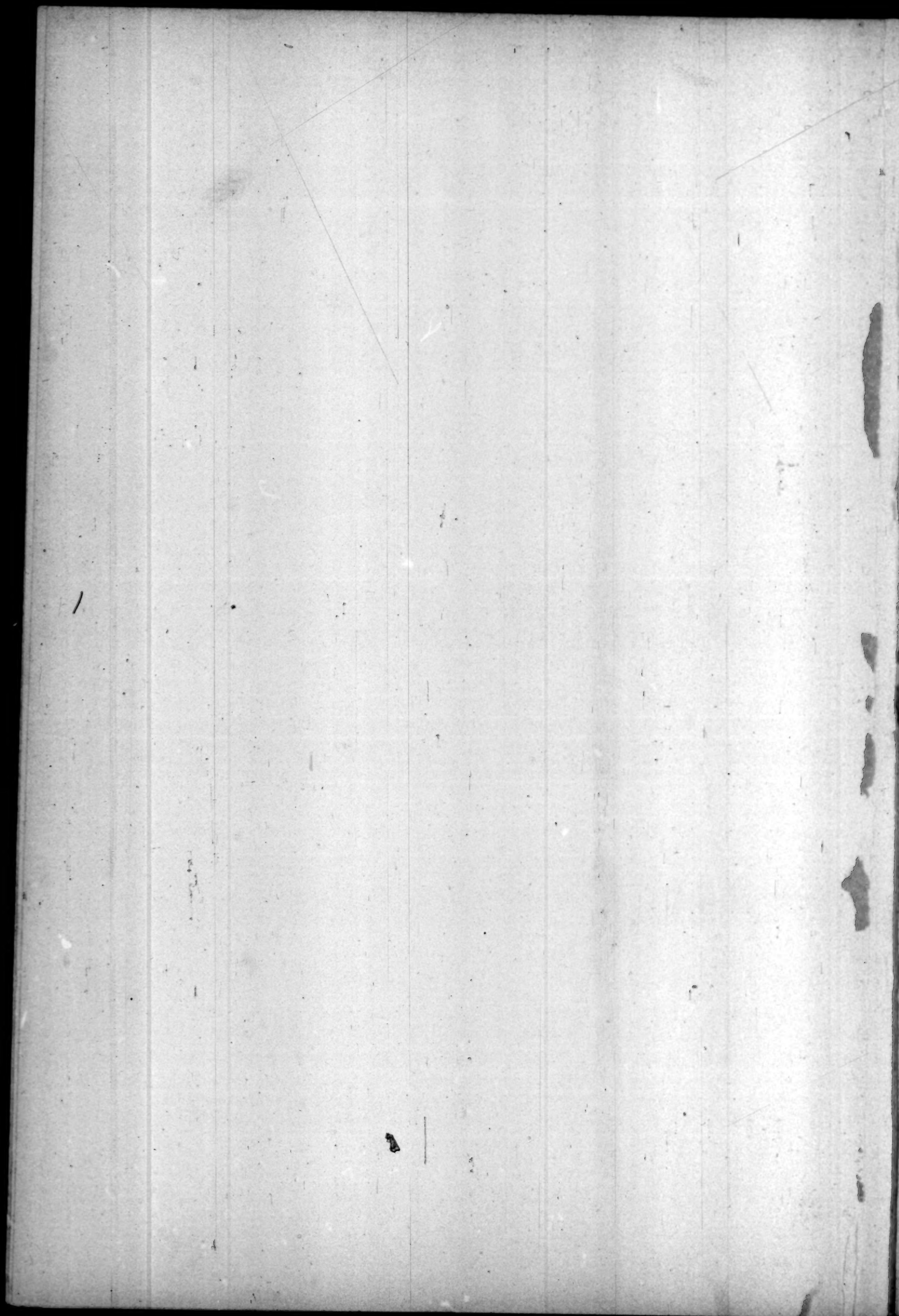
REPORT AND PAPERS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN
THE CITY OF NEW YORK, DEC. 30 AND 31, 1889

EDITED BY

REV. SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, M.A.
SECRETARY

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1890



REPORT AND PAPERS
OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
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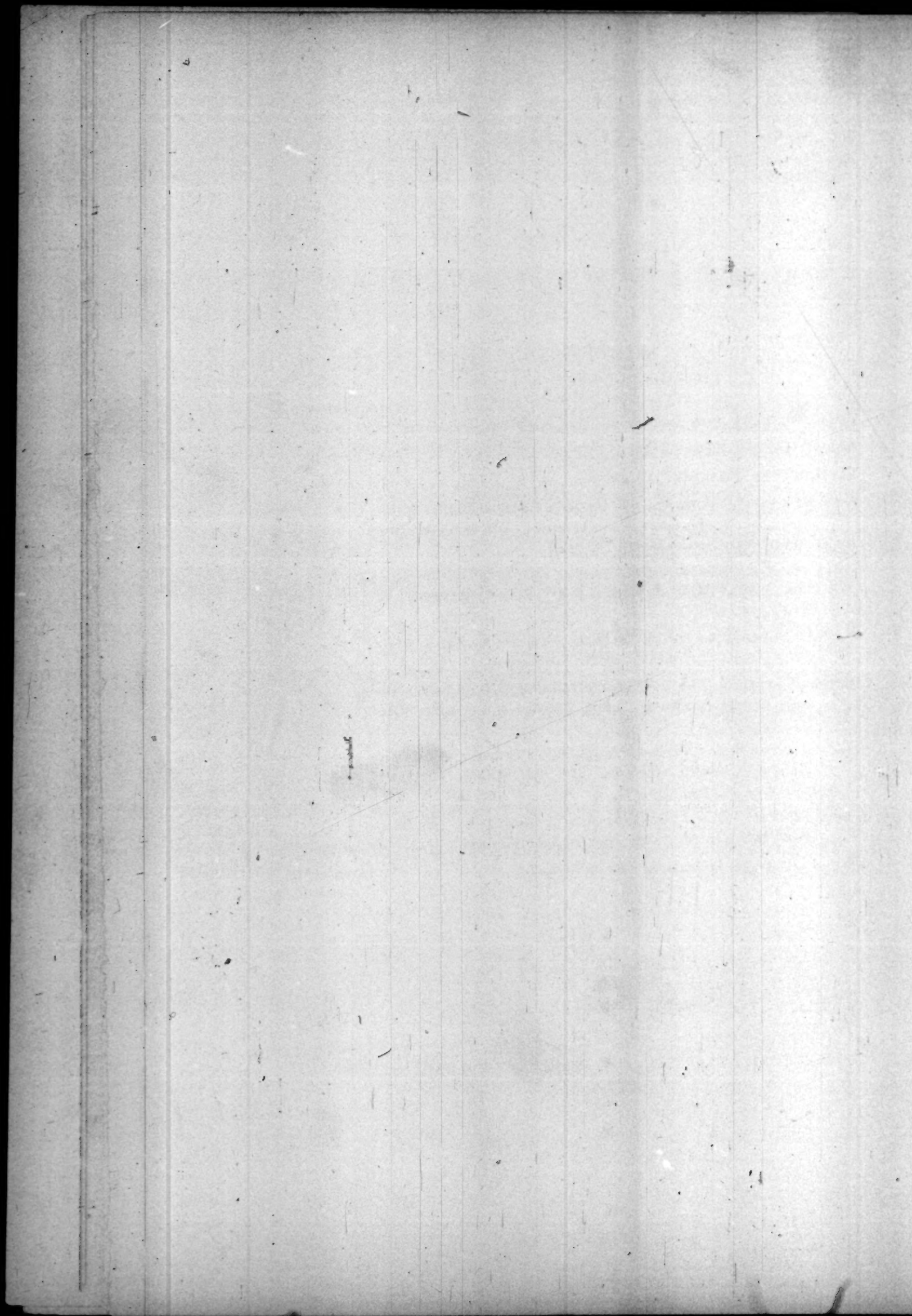
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CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

[Adopted at the organization, Friday, March 23, 1888].

I.

This Society shall be called

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of studies in the department of Church History.

III.

The officers shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

These officers and four other members shall constitute the Council, of which five shall be the quorum.

IV.

The duties of the persons just named shall be respectively as follows :

The President, or in his absence a Vice-President, shall preside at all the meetings of the Society. In the absence of these officers, the Society may choose a temporary president from the members present.

viii *Constitution of the American Society of Church History.*

The Secretary shall notify the members at least two weeks in advance of each meeting, keep the minutes, and conduct the correspondence of the Society under the direction of the Council.

The Treasurer shall send bills regularly to all annual members, take charge of the funds of the Society, and invest and disburse them under the direction of the Council.

The Council shall be charged with the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers, and the determination of what papers shall be published, and the auditing of the Treasurer's accounts.

V.

The Council and all the other officers shall be elected at the annual meeting. But the Council may fill vacancies until the next annual meeting.

VI.

Any person approved by the Council may become a member of the Society upon the payment of an initiation fee of \$5.00, and continue a member by paying after the first year an annual fee of \$3.00. On payment of fifty dollars at any one time any member may become a life-member exempt from fees.

VII.

One copy of each of the publications of the Society, issued after their election, shall be sent to all honorary and life-members, to all annual members not in arrears for more than two years, and to all libraries subscribing \$3.00 annually.

VIII.

Persons not residing in America may be elected honorary members.

IX.

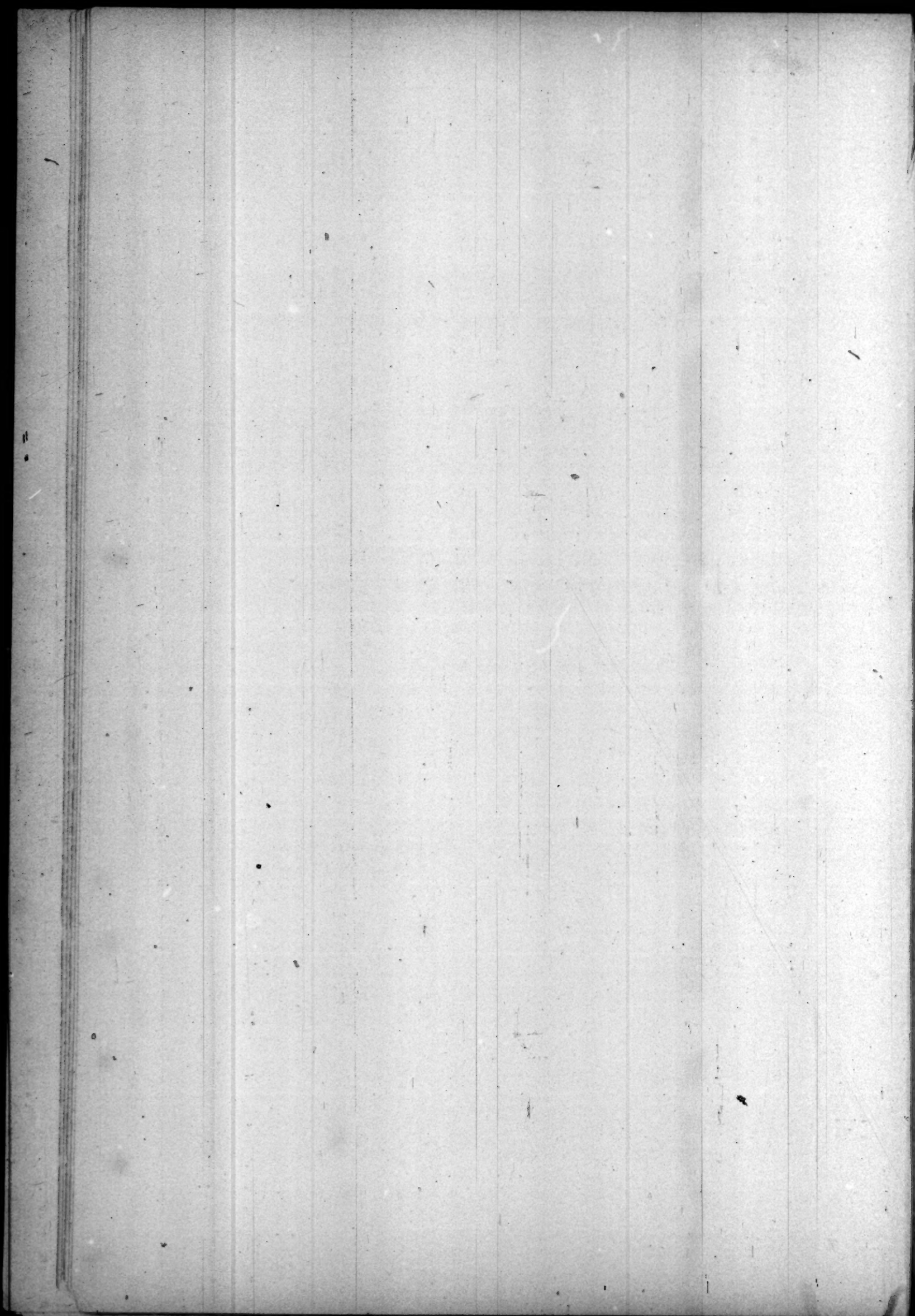
The Society shall meet annually at such time and place as the Council may determine. Special meetings may be called at the discretion of the Council. Ten members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may sit for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

X.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided that notice of such amendment shall be given at the preceding annual meeting, or the amendment itself shall be approved by the Council before the meeting at which it shall be voted upon.

THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.



THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

The Society met in the lecture-room of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, Fourth Avenue and 22d Street, New York City, upon Monday and Tuesday, December 30 and 31, 1889, by kind invitation of the pastor, Rev. G. H. McGrew.

The first session was on Monday, at 3 P.M., and was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. Otis H. Tiffany. The President, Rev. Prof. Dr. Schaff, then made a brief address of welcome. In reviewing the history of the Society during the past year, he alluded in fitting terms to the death of four of the honorary members, with all of whom he had the honor of a personal acquaintance.

These were, *first*, Pastor Eugene Bersier, of the Reformed Etoile Church, Paris; born at Morges, near Geneva, February 5, 1831; since 1861, pastor in Paris, where he died, Tuesday, November 19, 1889. He was justly famed for eloquence and pastoral ability. He was also in an especial manner associated with America, where he had lived for a while (1848-50), and where his books in the original and translation have had a wide sale. To his church American tourists went in large numbers. As was natural, most of his numerous publications were sermons; but his "Histoire du Synode de 1872" (Paris, 1872, 2 vols.), and "Coligny avant les guerres de religion" (1884, 3d ed. 1885), Eng. trans., "Coligny: The Earlier Life of the Great Huguenot" (London, 1885), take high rank as historical works.

The *second* was Rev. Edwin Hatch, D.D., Reader in Ecclesiastical History at Oxford; born at Derby, September 4, 1835; since 1867 Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford; died at Oxford, Sunday, November 10, 1889. He was one of the greatest scholars England has produced, although his reputation was not widespread in this country. His Bampton lectures on "The Organization of the Early Christian Church" (London, 1881, 2d ed. 1882), had the unusual honor of being translated into German with an introduction by Prof. Harnack (Giessen, 1883). His subsequent volume, on "The Growth of Church Institutions" (1887), confirmed his reputation as an independent investigator. His last book, "Essays in Biblical Greek" (1889), was as important in the department of New Testament exegesis as the volumes first named were in that of church history.

The *third* was Rt. Rev. Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Lord Bishop of Durham; born at Liverpool, April 13, 1828; became Hulsean Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, 1861; Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, 1875; bishop, 1879; died at Bournemouth, Saturday, December 21, 1889. He was incomparably the greatest patristic scholar of the age, and poured forth the treasures of his lore in the elucidation of Holy Writ. His commentaries on Galatians (1865, 8th ed. 1884), Philippians (1868, 7th ed. 1883), Colossians and Philemon (1875, 8th ed. 1886), were noted for their clearness of statement, and especially for their extraordinarily learned and brilliant excursions. It was his intention to continue the series until it embraced all the Pauline Epistles, but this scheme, together with the completion of the valuable edition of the Apostolic Fathers (Clement, 1869, suppl. 1877, Ignatius and Polycarp, 1885), was frustrated by his acceptance of a bishopric. He was one of the original members of the New Testament Company of Bible Revisers, and wrote "On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament" (1871, 2d ed. 1872, Am. rep., N. Y., 1873).

The *fourth* and last in alphabetical order was the first to go—Professor Hermann Reuter, D.D., born at Hildesheim, August 30, 1817; became ordinary professor at Greifswald 1855, at Breslau 1866, at Göttingen 1876; there died, Wed-

nesday, September 18, 1889. His field was that of church history, and in it he produced two notable works—"Geschichte Alexanders III. und der Kirche seiner Zeit" (Berlin, 1846, 2d ed. 1860-64, 3 vols.), and "Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter" (1875-77, 2 vols.).

At the conclusion of the President's address the Secretary read his annual report, which is as follows:

The Secretary would respectfully report that, since the last annual meeting, held in Washington, December 28, 1888, the Council has met twice—on Saturday, April 27th, and on Friday, October 25th. At the latter meeting, the Secretary, who had been acting as treasurer ever since the organization of the Society, was elected to and accepted the office of treasurer.

As the result of a special effort made last fall, 29 members have been added to the Society since the list in the volume was printed. Of these, 28 are annual members, and 1 is a life member. By a private contribution, Rev. Dr. Learned, one of the missionaries connected with the Society, was made a life member. There are now 97 active members.

There has been no death during the year among the American members; but four of the honorary members—Pastor Bersier, Dr. Hatch, Bishop Lightfoot, and Professor Reuter—have died.

The Society has received a Church History in Japanese, the work of our associate, Rev. Dr. Learned; publications from the Oneida Historical Society, and the New Haven Colony Historical Society; and the catalogue of the White Library of Cornell University.

As Treasurer, the Secretary would report as follows:

1888.			
Nov. 26.	Balance on hand.....	\$319 82	
1889.			
Dec. 30.	Received to date for dues from members and sale of books.....	576	
	Received from G. P. Putnam's Sons for sale of Transactions.....	36	
	Paid G. P. Putnam's Sons for printing.....		\$736 94
	" Angell's printing office for printing.....		4
	" secretary's salary.....		25
	Balance.....		165 88
	Total.....	\$931 82	\$931 82

Then followed the reading of the papers according to programme :

"The Alogi," by Rev. Prof. G. P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D., of New Haven.

"The Camisard Uprising of the French Protestants," by Rev. Prof. H. M. Baird, D.D., LL.D., of New York.

"Parish Libraries in the Colonial Period," by Rev. Bishop J. F. Hurst, D.D., LL.D., of Washington.

After the papers a business meeting was held. Rev. Dr. Lewis was appointed by the Chair auditor of the Treasurer's accounts, and Rev. Drs. Baird and Lewis and the Secretary a committee on the nomination of officers and councillors for the ensuing year, and place of next meeting.

On motion Rev. Principal Henry Wace, D.D., of King's College, London, and Professors of Theology, Drs. Johann Heinrich Kurtz (emeritus professor of Dorpat, and Karl August Hase¹ (Jena) were unanimously elected Honorary members.

On further motion the Rev. J. A. Faulkner (Minooka, Pa.), and Rev. Profs. Drs. Wm. Clark and Wm. Gregg (both of Toronto), were elected active members.

In the evening a well-attended reception in the Society's honor, and to which the city clergy of all faiths were invited, was given at the house of Col. Elliott F. Shepard.

On Tuesday, December 31, at 10 A.M., the Society met for its final session, which was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. G. R. Crooks. The programme was as follows :

"The Theology of Dante's Divine Comedy," by Rev. Prof. Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D., of New York.

"The Corruption of Christianity through Paganism during the First Two Centuries," by Rev. A. H. Lewis, D.D., of Plainfield, N. J.

"Some Relics of Early Presbyterianism in Maryland," by Rev. J. W. McIlvain, of Hyattsville, Md.

"Communion Tokens," by Mr. Robert Shiells, of Neenah, Wis. (extracts read by the Secretary in the absence of Mr. Shiells).

¹ Dr. Hase died at Jena, Friday, January 3, 1890.

At the conclusion of the papers the Society held a business meeting, at which Rev. Drs. M. J. Cramer, and A. Lowrey, and Rev. J. B. Devins were elected active members; and a vote of thanks was given to Col. Shepard for his generosity in entertaining the Society on Monday evening, and to the pastor and officers of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church for their kindness in placing their lecture-room at the disposal of the Society.

The auditor reported that he had examined the Treasurer's report, compared it with the vouchers, and found it correct.

The nominating committee reported the following nominations for the ensuing year:

For President: Rev. Prof. Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D.

For Vice-Presidents: Rev. Prof. Henry Martyn Baird, D.D., LL.D.; Rev. Bishop John Fletcher Hurst, D.D., LL.D.; Rev. Prof. George Park Fisher, D.D., LL.D.; Rev. Henry Martyn Dexter, D.D.

For Secretary and Treasurer: Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson.¹

For Members of the Council: Rev. Prof. George Richard Crooks, D.D.; Rev. Prof. Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D.; Rev. Prof. Chester David Hartranft, D.D., Rt. Rev. Henry Codman Potter, D.D., LL.D.²

The same committee also recommended that Washington be the meeting-place of the Society in 1890, and that the time be during the week the American Historical Association convenes in that city.

On motion, these reports were unanimously accepted and adopted.

The Society then adjourned for luncheon at Clark's restaurant, No. 22 West 23d Street.

After luncheon a business meeting was held. It was resolved to print papers read at the public meeting, but the selection was left in the hands of the Council.

Rev. Drs. James Patterson Sheraton, Principal of Wycliffe College, Toronto, William Henry Withrow, of Toronto,

¹ The address of the Secretary is No. 14 East 31st Street, New York City.

² Declined election Jan. 14, 1890.

John Campbell, Presbyterian College, Montreal, and C. J. Little, of Syracuse University, were elected active members.

Vice-Chancellor Rev. Henry Mitchell McCracken, D.D., LL.D., was requested to prepare a paper for the next meeting on instruction in church history in colleges.

After considerable discussion Rev. Prof. Albert Henry Newman, D.D., LL.D., was requested to prepare for the same meeting a paper upon the plan for a series of denominational histories, to be written under the auspices of the Society.

Continued correspondence with the American Historical Association, looking to some sort of affiliation, was ordered.

The Society then adjourned to meet in Washington next year.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON,

Secretary.

LETTERS OF ACCEPTANCE FROM THE HONORARY MEMBERS.

The following replies have been received to the notification of election to honorary membership :

FROM PRINCIPAL WACE, D.D.

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, ENGLAND, }
22 January, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR :

I beg to thank you for your letter of the 9th instant, informing me that I have been unanimously elected an honorary member of the American Society of Church History ; and I have received the copy of the First Year's Proceedings of the Society, which you have been kind enough to send me.

I beg you will convey my hearty thanks to the Society for the honor which they have conferred upon me, and I accept with great pleasure the privileges of this association with American Scholars in Church History.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours truly,

HENRY WACE.

FROM PROFESSOR DR. KURTZ.

MARBURG, d. 31. Jan., 1890.

HOCHVEREHRTER HERR,

Ihr gütiges Schreiben d. 9. Jan. a. c., welches mir den Beschluss der "American Society of Church History" mitteilt, durch den auch ich gewürdigt worden bin, den Ehrenmitgliedern dieser hochachtbaren wissenschaftlichen Vereinigung zugezählt zu werden, hat mich eben so hochehrt wie hochgeehrt, zugleich aber doch auch beschämt, weil ich die mir dadurch zuteil gewordene hohe Ehre als eine unverdiente ansehen muss.

Letzteres hätte mich fast dazu bestimmen können, auf die mir zuerkannte Ehre zu verzichten. Wenn ich dennoch diesen Ge-

danken abweisen zu dürfen glaubte, so geschah es hauptsächlich im Hinblick darauf, dass ich einer der ältesten, wahrscheinlich sogar gradezu der älteste unter den bezüglichen Mitarbeitern auf dem Felde kirchenhistorischer Lehrthätigkeit bin. Möge es mir darauf hin gestattet sein, was ich an der mir erwiesenen Ehre nicht auf Rechnung meiner schriftstellerischen Leistungen auf kirchenhistorischem Gebiete zu setzen vermag, als einen ehrenden Tribut, den Sie meinem, bereits die in Ps. 90 gesetzten Grenzen des menschlichen Lebens überschritten habenden Greisenalter und vielleicht auch meinem fast 50 jährigen Fleisse auf diesem Gebiete dargebracht haben, ansehen zu dürfen!

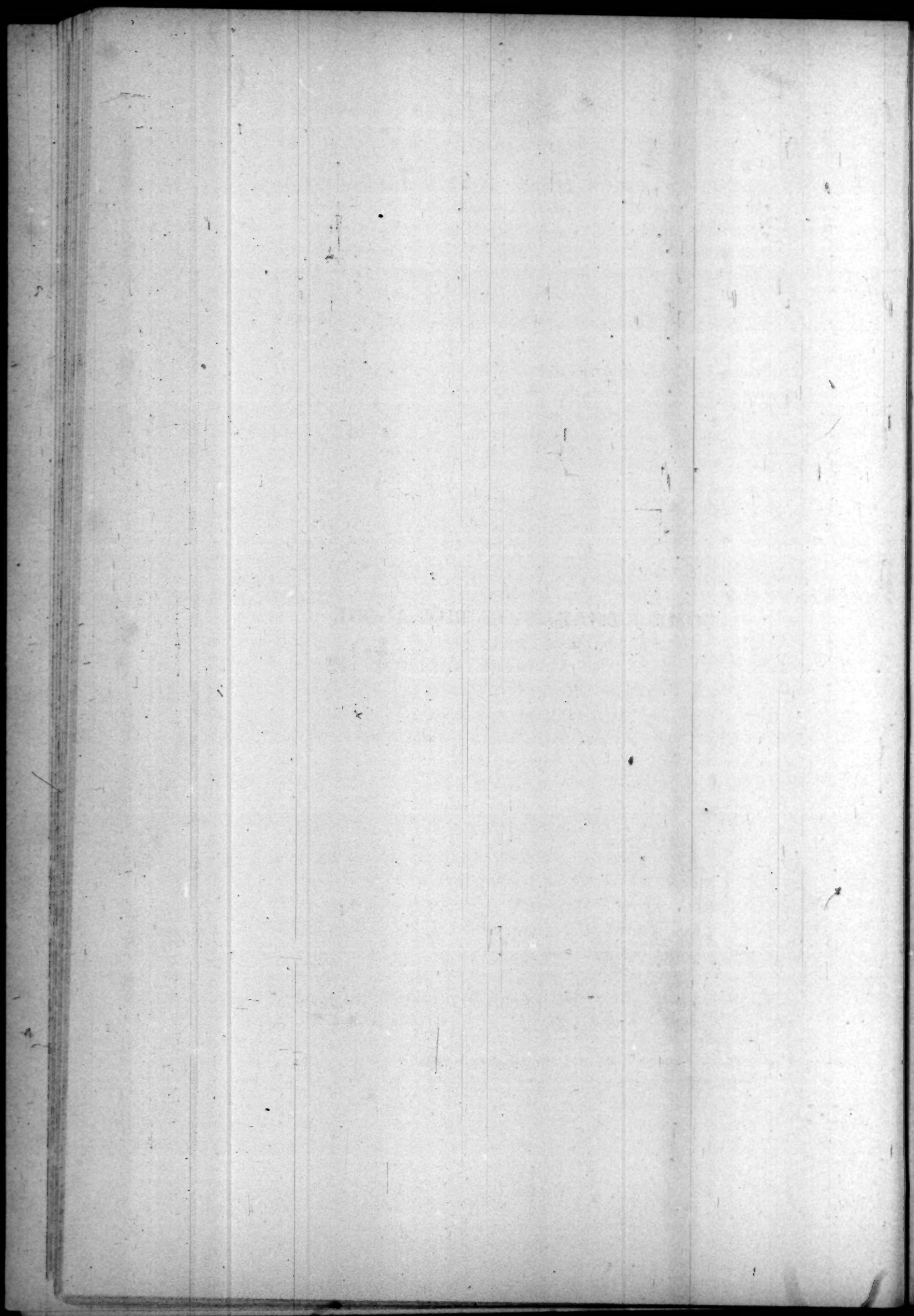
So nehme ich denn mit dem lebhaftesten Dankgeföhle das mir dargebotene Ehrengeschenk an, und verbinde damit zugleich auch meinen lebhaften Dank für die gütige Zusendung des ersten Bandes Ihrer "Papers," deren treffliche Abhandlungen vollauf erfüllen, was die hochachtbaren Namen der ordentlichen Gesellschaftsmitglieder erwarten liessen.

Mit den Geföhlen herzlicher Verehrung und inniger Dankbarkeit

Ihr Ergebener

Dr. theol. JOH. HEINR. KURTZ,
emeritiertem Prof. d. Theol. der Universität Dorpat.

SOME REMARKS ON THE ALOGI.



SOME REMARKS ON THE ALOGI.

BY REV. GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D.,

Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Of late the Alogi (so-called) have been the subject of renewed discussion in Germany. The topic is handled by Dr. A. Harnack in his able and elaborate article on "Monarchianism" in Herzog and Plitt's *Encyclopædia* (vol. x.), and in his "Dogmengeschichte" (second edition, 1888). It is considered at length in the first half of the first volume of Zahn's "History of the New Testament Canon" (1888). This last publication has called out a polemical review from Harnack, in which the Alogi forms one of the prominent themes.¹ In Zahn's brief pamphlet in reply to Harnack,² however, this particular topic is not taken up. The subject, as all are aware, is interesting as a branch of the history of Christology in the second century. It is especially important now for its connection with the debate respecting the authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

The first, and on account of being the first, the most valuable, witness on the subject is Irenæus ("Adv. Hær.," III., xi., 9). His reference to it is a part of the well-known passage in which he sets forth with so much emphasis the fact that there are four, and only four, Gospels having any just title to acceptance or any acknowledged authority in the Church. In this connection he refers to those who represent that there are more, or that there are less, than four. He makes mention of Marcion and proceeds to remark: "Others again, that they may set at nought the gift of the

¹ "Das Neue Testament um das Jahr 200," etc., 1889.

² "Einige Bemerkungen zu Adolf Harnack's Prüfung," etc., 1889.

Spirit, which in the last times has been poured out on the human race by the will of the Father, do not admit that *speciem*”—that is to say, that aspect of the “fourfold Gospel” to which he has referred—“which is according to the Gospel of John, in which the Lord promised that He would send the Paraclete; but they set aside at once both the Gospel and the prophetic spirit. Unhappy ones truly, who, desiring indeed to be false prophets, drive away from the Church the grace”—or the gracious gift—“of prophecy.” The last sentence yields a better meaning, if we accept a conjectural emendation of Zahn, and read “*nolunt*” for “*volunt*.” The sense then would be: “From an unwillingness to be false prophets, they expel altogether from the Church the grace of prophecy itself.”

Irenæus gives no name to these dissentients. He does not imply that they had any organization. There is no reason to doubt that they are the class to whom Epiphanius gives the nickname of “Alogi.” We learn afterwards that they sprung up in Thyatira. They appeared, in all probability, somewhere about 170,—perhaps a few years earlier. It is plain from what Irenæus says, that they were a set of persons whom a reaction against the enthusiastic ideas of Montanism, especially its doctrine of ecstatic prophecy, moved to discard John’s Gospel. That they also rejected the Apocalypse, as it might be expected they would, we know from other sources. The attention of Irenæus, however, being at the moment fixed exclusively on the Gospels, he has no occasion to speak of their attitude in relation to other books. There is no hint in Irenæus that there was any other motive for their opposition to the Fourth Gospel than the one alleged, that is, the doctrinal one—its teaching about the Paraclete, together with a disgust at the obnoxious ideas of the Montanists, which they regarded as finding encouragement in this Gospel. The silence of Irenæus as to any other important doctrinal error on the part of the Alogi, and the mildness of his tone respecting them, create at least a presumption against the supposition that they coupled with their

antipathy to Montanism a denial—a conscious, explicit rejection—of the divinity of Christ. What he says does not comport with the view that their opinion about the Fourth Gospel originated in critical difficulties. Judging from the statements of Irenæus, objections of this last kind, as far as they existed among the Alogi, must have arisen later, and have been laid hold of to sustain an opinion previously expressed, and having another root.

From Irenæus we turn to Epiphanius (h. 51). The researches of Lipsius have proved that Epiphanius, Philaster, and Pseudo-Tertullian, in their accounts of the Alogi, drew from a common source, viz., the earlier work of Hippolytus, his lost treatise against thirty-two heresies, or the *Synagma*. It is, of course, difficult to define exactly the limits of the indebtedness of Epiphanius to the author of the *Synagma*. It is deemed probable that Epiphanius also made some use of still another lost writing of Hippolytus. There is room for dispute, therefore, in regard to certain particular statements in Epiphanius whether it is Hippolytus that we are listening to, or the declamatory compiler who has expanded the accounts of that author and mingled with them his own speculations and experiences.

One thing that is ascertained is that the so-called Alogi, of whom Epiphanius writes, ascribed the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse to Cerinthus. What does Epiphanius mean by the title "Alogi"? There is no doubt that he plays upon the word, and means to stigmatize those to whom he applies it as unreasonable or senseless. *Ανοήτοι*—is the heading of the Greek editor. But does Epiphanius intend to say that they rejected the conception of the Logos altogether? Zahn thinks not. Zahn interprets him as meaning simply that they cast away the Logos Gospel,—that Gospel which might be called, after a conspicuous feature of it, the Logos Gospel. One or two sentences in Epiphanius which bear on the point are certainly loose and ambiguous. But what he says (in c. xxviii.) appears to affirm distinctly that they rejected the Logos-idea. They discard, he says, "τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ," "πατρικὸν Θεὸν λόγον,"

and for this reason merit the name Ἀλόγους. On this point of interpretation Harnack appears to be right in his dissent from Zahn. But here, of course, there are some who might be disposed to suspect that this imputation of Epiphanius has no good basis, but is only a supplement from his own brain, serving as an additional justification for applying his nickname of "Alogi." However this may be, there is good reason to conclude that the Alogi were not professed humanitarians in their conception of the person of Christ. They accepted the first three Gospels, and, of course, the miraculous conception. Harnack himself says: "Hippolytus, in his polemic, has merely warned us against the consequences, which were not to be avoided from their rejection of the Logos. That the party actually drew these consequences he nowhere distinctly avers, and even Epiphanius does not here venture on perfectly definite assertions. Hence there is no ground for ascribing to them a denial of the miraculous conception; and the formula φιλοῦς ἀνθρώπου, the party could not have used" (Herzog u. Plitt, x., p. 185. Cf. Harnack's "Dogmengeschichte," i., p. 619). Epiphanius, in the midst of his denunciation, remarks that, with the exception of their views on the teaching of John, the Alogi were in agreement with the orthodox (c. iii., p. 424).

There is no trace at any time of any organization of the persons called Alogi. They did not attain to the position of a sect. At first it seems strange that they should have attributed the Fourth Gospel to Cerinthus, a Judaizing Gnostic. But when we look at the objections of an internal character which, according to Epiphanius, they brought against its Apostolic authorship, we find that prominent among them is the idea that because the Gospel makes no mention of the birth and baptism of Christ, its author meant to teach that the heavenly Christ, called by the author the Logos, descended upon the man Jesus and united himself with him. This interpretation is one which the modern assailants of the Johannine authorship have not suggested, but it may help to account for the conjecture of the Alogi

as to its authorship, since, according to Irenæus, Hippolytus, and other authorities, this Gnostic speculation relative to the heavenly Christ was a part of the creed of Cerinthus. It is difficult to reconcile the alleged Chiliasm of Cerinthus with his other opinions; but if he was a Chiliast, that might lead the Montanists to ascribe the Apocalypse to him; and they assumed that the Apocalypse and the Gospel were by one author.

Among the other critical objections of the Alogi was the alleged discrepancy between the Synoptics and John in respect to the number of Passovers kept by Jesus, and thus as to the duration of his ministry. One thing that they said about the Apocalypse was that there was no Church at Thyatira at the time when it was written. But, as was remarked, the objections of this class were, in all probability, an after-thought, the antipathy to the writings bearing the name of John having had its start in a doctrinal motive.

Among the lost works of Hippolytus was one bearing the title *ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως*. According to Eben Jesu (in Asseman), among the writings of Hippolytus was a defence of the Gospel and the Apocalypse. Probably the title just given was the title of this work. It indicates that there remained some of the Alogi, and adherents to their opinions may have made their way to Rome. The same thing is thought to be implied in what is said of John's Gospel in the Muratorian Canon; but whether the statements there have really an apologetic intent is uncertain.

A question to be considered is whether Theodotus, the Currier, had a connection with the Alogi. Epiphanius (h. 54) styles him an offshoot of this heresy: *ἀπόσπασμα ἐκ τῆς ὑπάρχων προειρημένης Ἀλόγου αἵρέσεως*. Harnack renders this statement literally, and considers it entitled to credence. One argument is the probable classification of Theodotus by Hippolytus under the same rubric with the Alogi. Zahn contends that Theodotus had no real connection with them. Theodotus was from Byzantium. Caius, the probable author of the "Little Labyrinth," quoted by

Eusebius (H. E., B. V., c. 28) styles Theodotus "the inventor" of the heresy that Christ was a mere man. What is especially important, Hippolytus, in the *Ref. Omn. Hær.* (vii., 23), expressly states it to be the doctrine of Theodotus that, at the baptism of Jesus, Christ descended upon him in the form of a dove,—precisely the doctrine which Hippolytus shortly before ascribes, also, to Cerinthus. In another passage (x. 19) Hippolytus likens the opinion of Theodotus to that of the Gnostics. In the former passage, however, he speaks of "that Spirit" which descended [and] which proclaims him to be the Christ. Harnack is disposed to think that Hippolytus may have erred in denominating the Spirit which was said by Theodotus to have descended, "Christ," and to question whether Theodotus did thus designate the Holy Spirit as "Christ" (Harnack, "Dogmengesch.," i., 623, n. 2.). This last suggestion is connected with an interpretation of Hermas (Lib. iii., Simil. v.) which makes him identify the Holy Spirit with the Divine in Christ. (On this subject, see Harnack, "Dogmengeschichte," [2 A.] I., p. 160, n. 4, and p. 641). But that the "Spirit" in Hermas is synonymous with the Logos—another name for the Logos,—is cogently argued by Dörner ("Entwicklungsgesch. d. Lehre v. d. Person Christi," I., 193 seq.). The early use of "Spirit" or "Holy Spirit," not in the Trinitarian sense, but as a designation of the Logos, is illustrated by Baumgarten-Crusius ("Compend. d. Dogmengeschichte," II., 178). It may be added that Epiphanius, after connecting Theodotus with the Alogi, adds that he had converse or communication (*συγγένομενος*) with other heretics before named and contemporary with them. Harnack's statement that nothing more than contemporaneity is here meant, can hardly be justified.

Leaving this point of the real or imaginary relation of Theodotus to the Alogi, as not essential in our present inquiry, it is certain that he received John's Gospel. Epiphanius cites a comment by him on John viii., 40 (Eph., p. 464). We do not hear that Theodotus rejected the Apocalypse, or any other New Testament book.

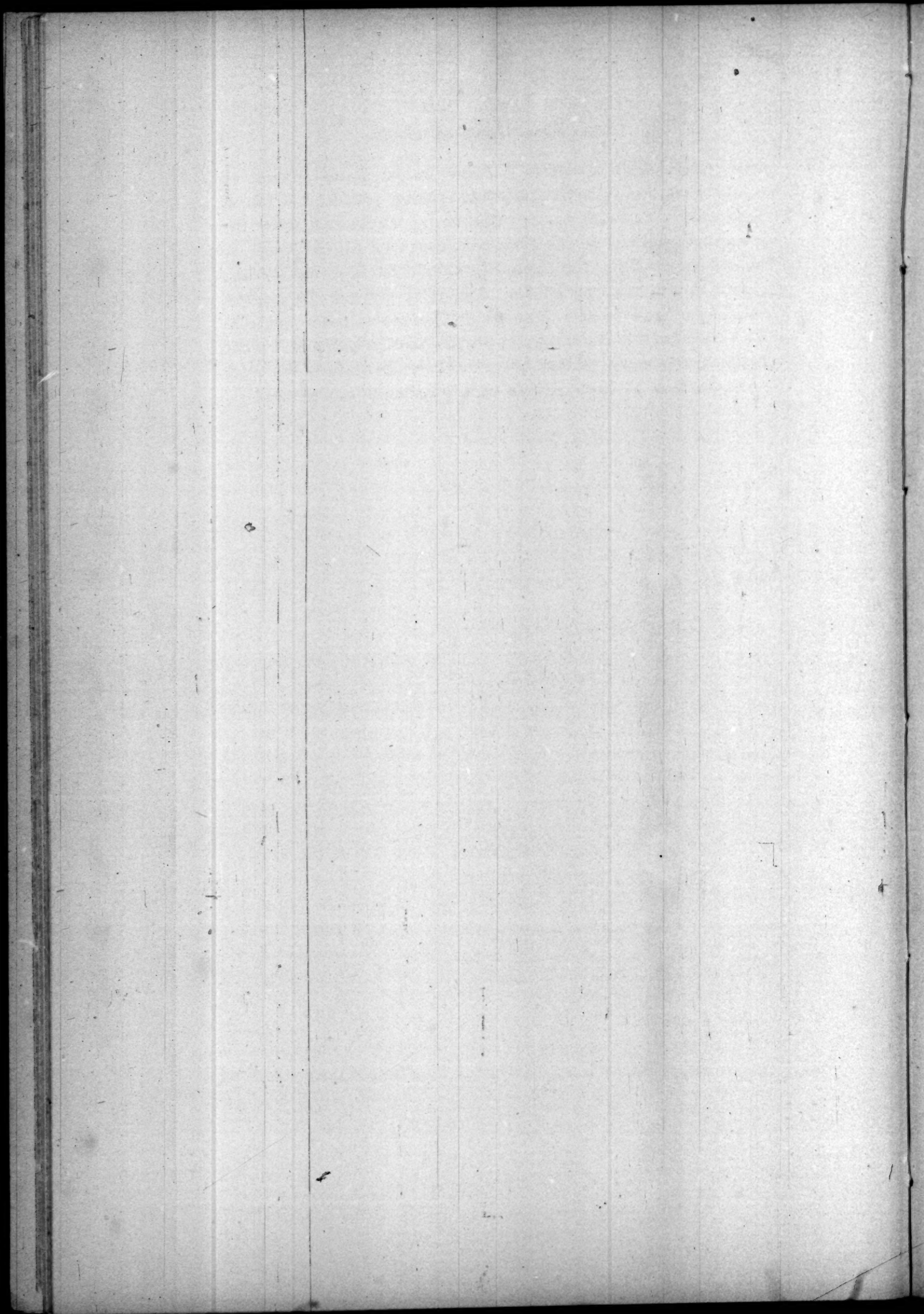
The opposition to Montanism, emphasized by the special and spreading aversion to its doctrine of a temporal Millennium, led to the rejection by many, for the most part in the East, of the Apocalypse. At Rome, Caius, in a book written to complete the Montanist Proclus, probably took this position. He ascribed the Revelation to Cerinthus. Caius was a contemporary of Hippolytus. They were agreed in their views relative to Montanism, but Hippolytus did not approve his rejection of the Apocalypse, and wrote a book against his view. In the middle of the third century, Dionysius of Alexandria says (Eusebius, H. E., B. vii., c. 24) that some before his time had set aside the Apocalypse and attributed it to Cerinthus. This he will not himself venture to do, as the book may have a deep meaning which he does not comprehend. He allows that it was written by some holy and inspired man. He conjectures that its author was a second John; "for they say," he tells us, "that there are two monuments at Ephesus, and that each bears the name of John." Owing to the prejudice against the book, it was excluded from the Syriac Canon, in which it had probably, at an earlier day, been comprised. The period of the unpopularity of the Apocalypse in the East covered, speaking roughly, the century from A.D. 250 to 350. But in the West this antipathy did not gain a foothold. There the book continued to be generally received. Neither Caius nor Dionysius, be it observed, called in question the Johanneine authorship of the Fourth Gospel. If it were not for the writing of Hippolytus "Concerning the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse," and the confutation which Epiphanius borrowed from one or more of the writings of this Father, we should have no proof that when Hippolytus wrote there was any thing left of the opposition of the Alogi to this Gospel.

It is evident that the pretensions of the so-called Alogi did not affect in the least the judgment of Irenæus as to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. The testimonies and proofs on which he relied were such that he does not feel moved to enter into any refutation of their opinion. To

all appearance, he did not think it worth answering. If it had been held by more than a handful of persons, or if he had thought that it was likely to make headway, would he not have felt called upon to confute it?

Cerinthus was a younger contemporary of the Apostle John. He is represented by Irenæus as one to whose doctrines and influence the Apostle was especially hostile. Whatever may be judged of the legends which illustrate this hostility, there can be no doubt about the early date of Cerinthus. The ascription of the Gospel to him implies that, in the view of the Alogi themselves, it was no recent composition. It cannot well be doubted that the book, with the doctrine of which they began to be dissatisfied, had long existed and had an established authority in the churches. Zeller, in his *Essay on the Fourth Gospel*, allowed that the Alogi had no rival tradition on which they founded their opinion, and added: "In truth I could not affirm that the Alogi would not have ventured to set up an opposition to a writing universally acknowledged to be Apostolic: the Apocalypse was no doubt such a writing in Asia Minor, and yet it was asserted by them to be a work of Cerinthus. (*Theol. Jahrb.*," 1845, p. 645). Since Zeller wrote thus, Keim and others who have followed him in the same path have gone so far as to dispute the tradition of a residence of the Apostle John in Asia Minor. Their arguments have been answered by Hilgenfeld and other representatives of the school of Baur. Rénan agrees that it is impossible to impeach the testimony of Irenæus on this point, which is given so distinctly in the Letter to Florinus, as well as in his principal book. Weizsäcker holds the same opinion. Even if Irenæus erred in thinking that Papias knew the Apostle John, it must be remembered that Irenæus was a personal acquaintance of Polycarp. Justin Martyr attributes the Apocalypse to John by name. Whether John actually wrote it or not, the belief that he did write it could not have arisen and established itself so early, if his residence in Asia had not been a well-known fact. It is not necessary here to bring forward the strong corroborative evidence from other

and independent quarters. There is no good reason to doubt that the Apostle spent the closing part of his life at Ephesus. How his name came to be associated with the Fourth Gospel as its author, and how that Gospel came to be recognized by the Asia Minor churches prior to any personal recollections of Irenæus, it is difficult to explain otherwise than by the supposition that he actually wrote it. This conclusion is rather supported than weakened by the indirect testimony of the Alogi to the early date of its composition, and by their absurd theory as to its authorship.



THE CAMISARD UPRISING OF THE FRENCH
PROTESTANTS.

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The movement known as the War of the Camisards is an episode of the history of Protestantism in France which, though rarely studied in detail and perhaps but partially understood, was not devoid of significance.¹

¹ On the Camisard uprising see Louvreleuil, "Le Fanatisme renouvelé, ou Histoire des Sacrileges, des incendies . . . que les Calvinistes revoltez ont commis dans les Sevenes" (Avignon, 1704, 3 vols.). Concluded in a fourth volume under the title "L'Obstination confondue" (Avignon, 1706). Brueys, "Histoire du Fanatisme de notre tems" (3d edition, Utrecht, 1737, 3 vols.). Cavalier, "Memoirs of the Wars of the Cevennes" (2d edition, London, 1727). Though ostensibly written by Cavalier himself, the true author is said to be Pierre Henri Galli, who gives the results of conversations with the Camisard chief, but with such frequent errors as to diminish greatly the value of the narrative. The anonymous "Histoire des Camisards" (London, 1754) is inaccurate and rarely deserving of confidence. The pastoral letters of Bishop Fléchier in the 5th volume of his "Œuvres complètes" (Paris, 1828), and his correspondence in the 10th volume are of great interest. Antoine Court, "Histoire des troubles des Cévennes ou de la guerre des Camisards, sous le règne de Louis XIV." (Villefranche, 1760, and Alais, 1819, 3 vols.). By far the most faithful and complete history of the entire war. Although Court was a child at the time of the events described, and is compelled to make use of the narratives of Louvreleuil, Brueys, etc., he had great familiarity with the region of the Cévennes, where he labored as a minister from 1715 onwards. He knew every locality where engagements took place, and held many conversations with surviving eye-witnesses. He is thus able to correct the accounts of his predecessors, and his work is in many parts an original source of information. Both his intelligence and his honesty are unimpeachable. Some of the manuscripts to which he had access have recently been published. This is the case with the valuable "Histoire de la révolte des fanatiques," by De la Baume, a judge in the presidial court of Nismes (Nismes, 1874). Prof. G. Frosterus, of the University of Helsinfors, Finland, has published the "Mémoires de Rossel d'Aigaliers" (1702-1705) in the "Bibliothèque et revue

When it occurred, in the summer of 1702, a period of little less than seventeen years had elapsed since Louis XIV., by his edict of Fontainebleau, October, 1685, solemnly revoked the great and fundamental law enacted by his grandfather, Henry IV., for the protection of the adherents of the Reformed faith, known in history as the Edict of Nantes. During the whole of that period the Protestants had submitted, with scarcely an attempt at armed resistance, to the proscription of their tenets. They did, indeed, repudiate the maxim that the sovereign may lawfully interfere with the religious sentiments of his subjects. On this point the representatives of the Roman Catholic and the Reformed hosts stood at open variance. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, gave expression to the views of the former in the words: "Such as will not suffer the prince to use rigor in matters of religion, because religion should be free, are in impious error. Otherwise it would be necessary to suffer among all subjects and throughout the entire state, idolatry, Mohammedanism, Judaism, and every false religion."¹ On the other hand, Jean

suisses" (Lausanne, 1866), and a part of the "Mémoires de Bonbonnoux" in his book "Les Insurgés Protestants sous Louis XIV." (Paris, 1868). The latter memoirs have since been printed entire, in a handsome but limited edition, by Pastor Vielles (Anduze, 1883). The narrative of Tobie Rocayrol of his visit to the "Camp of the Children of God," in May, 1704, is published from the hitherto inedited MS. in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français*, tome xvi. (1867), 274, etc. The same invaluable periodical has printed the brief "Mémoires de Pierre Pons" (1702-1704), in tome xxxii. (1883), 218-230; an article by L. Anguez based upon inedited letters of Abbé G. Bégault, and many other articles of importance. Haag, "La France Protestante" (2d edition, Paris, 1877-), *sqq.* contains biographies of the Camisard chiefs. The "Mémoires du Marquis de Guiscard" (known also as the Abbé de la Bourlie) are republished in Cimber et Danjou, "Archives curieuses," seconde série, tome xi., 195-287. The "Mémoires du maréchal de Berwick," and the "Mémoires du maréchal de Villars," in Michaud et Poujoulat, "Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France," troisième série, tomes viii., ix. Ernest Alby, "Les Camisards" (Paris, s. a.), and Eugène Bonnemère, "Histoire des Camisards" (4th ed., Paris, 1882), are popular accounts of considerable merit. The most serviceable map of the Cévennes is that subjoined to Antoine Court's history. The admirable maps of the French War Department leave nothing to be desired in respect to detail.

¹ "Ceux qui ne veulent pas souffrir que le prince use de rigueur en matière de religion, parce que la religion doit être libre, sont dans une erreur impie. Au-

Claude enunciated the Protestant view in the closing paragraphs of his immortal complaint against the cruel oppression to which his fellow believers were subjected, wherein he uttered a formal protest that might well have penetrated even the dull ears of tyrants, "against that impious and detestable practice, now pursued in France, of making religion to depend upon the will of a mortal and corruptible King, and of treating perseverance in the faith as rebellion and a state crime, which is to make of a man a God, and to authorize atheism or idolatry."¹

In spite of this opposition of sentiment, however, quiet submission was with the French Protestants the almost invariable rule, armed resistance was unknown. In strange contrast with the course adopted by their ancestors in the sixteenth century, and even in the early part of the seventeenth century, the Huguenots in the reign of Louis XIV., while confident of the righteousness of their cause, and assured of the sympathy of no inconsiderable part of the inhabitants of neighboring countries, abstained from an appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. Multitudes—several hundred thousands,—it is true, in defiance of the king's prohibition and braving the perils to which their daring exposed them, made their way to foreign lands where they might enjoy liberty of conscience. But the majority, unable to escape from the land of oppression, remained at home, many of them too timid to undertake the journey to unknown regions, or doubtful of their success in eluding the watchfulness of the guards upon the frontiers; nearly all of

tremement, il faudroit souffrir dans tous les sujets et dans tout l'État, l'idolatrie, le mahometanisme, le judaïsme, toute fausse religion: le blasphème, l'athéisme même, et les plus grands crimes seroient impunis."—Bossuet, "Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Écriture Sainte," liv. vii., art. ii., x^e proposition: "On peut employer la rigueur contre les observateurs des fausses religions; mais la douceur est préférable."

¹ "Nous protestons sur tout contre cette impie et détestable pratique qu'on tient à présent en France de faire dépendre la religion de la volonté d'un roy mortel et corruptible, et de traiter la persévérance en la foy de rebellion et crime d'état, ce qui est faire d'un homme un Dieu, et autoriser l'athéisme ou l'idolatrie."—Claude, "Les Plaintes des Protestans cruellement opprimez dans le royaume de France," p. 191.

them cherishing the confident hope that the king's delusion would be short-lived, and that the edict under which they and their ancestors had lived for three generations would, before long, be restored to them with the greater part, if not the whole, of its beneficent provisions.

Meanwhile, all the Protestant ministers having been expelled from France by the same law that prohibited the expatriation of any of the laity, the people of the Reformed faith found themselves destitute of the spiritual food they craved. True, the new legislation affected to regard that faith as dead, and designated all the former adherents of Protestantism, without distinction, as the "New Converts," "*Nouveaux Convertis*." And, in point of fact, the great majority had so far yielded to the terrible pressure of the violent measures brought to bear upon them—prominent among these being the infamous quartering of insolent soldiers upon defenceless Protestant homes,—that they had consented to sign a promise to be "reunited" to the Roman Catholic Church, or had gone at least once to mass. But they were still Protestants at heart. They did not even pretend to conceal from their persecutors the fact that they only yielded to overwhelming force.

Under these circumstances, feeling more than ever the need of religious comfort, now that remorse arose for a weak betrayal of conscientious convictions, the proscribed Protestants, especially in the south of France, began to meet clandestinely for divine worship in such retired places as seemed most likely to escape the notice of their vigilant enemies. There was, however, a dearth of ordained ministers. A few, but only a few, after having been expelled from the kingdom, came back by stealth, taking their lives in their hands. Of these scarcely any were able to remain long in France. More than one was tracked and captured before he had fairly gotten at work, and was remorselessly consigned to the gallows or the wheel. Such worship as the Protestants had was essentially in the hands of laymen, private members of the former churches, distinguished, not for their learning, but rather by superior fervor of spirit and greater zeal in exhortation and prayer.

It was not strange that in so exceptional a situation, a phase of religious life and feeling equally exceptional should manifest itself. I refer to that appearance of prophetic inspiration which attracted to the province of Vivarais and to the Cévennes Mountains the attention of all Europe. In a time of great persecution the parts of the Holy Scriptures which foretell coming disasters, which rehearse the tribulations through which the chosen people of God must pass and their ultimate triumph through the signal overthrow of their oppressors, are wont to be favorite subjects of study and contemplation. Thus it was that the book of Daniel in the Old Testament, and the Apocalypse in the New Testament, gave color to the thoughts and anticipations of the devout men and women among the Huguenots of the South who looked for the speedy redemption of their people. What formed the burden of their hopes and desires, they felt themselves impelled of God to utter for the incitement and guidance of their brethren. That many sincerely believed themselves inspired by the Holy Ghost in these deliverances, we can scarcely doubt. As little, however, can we doubt that in the progress of popular excitement, proverbially rapid and contagious in its spread, other causes, and those not always of the purest, played an important part. It was not easy at the time, even for judicious and well-informed persons, to take a calm and dispassionate view of the nature of the phenomena; and certainly, at this distance of time and place, we should find it a fruitless task to attempt to draw the line at which sincere conviction ended and more or less conscious deception began.

Historically, however, the influence of the prophets of the Cévennes was an important factor in the Protestant problem of the end of the 17th and the commencement of the 18th centuries. Respecting the physical phenomena with which the pretended revelation from heaven was accompanied, I shall not speak at length. The trances into which the prophets, often mere boys or girls, fell; the contortions of their bodies, their apparent insensibility to pain, their unconsciousness of what was occurring about

them, the marvellous visions which they maintained that they saw, the strange and unintelligible words they heard and repeated; the effect which their orders or their gestures exercised over entire audiences, when at a word men, women, and children, it might be numbering twenty-five hundred in all, fell backward on the ground;¹—these and other wonders of like kind may be read in the friendly pages of Misson, in the *Théâtre Sacré des Cévennes*, or accompanied by words of doubt or derision in the more polished writings of Bishop Fléchier.

The renown of these strange sights reached even to foreign countries. According to the Earl of Shaftesbury, so famous had they become in England, that, as he wrote, in the year 1707, the Cévenol prophets were the subject of a choice Droll or Puppet-show at Bartholomew Fair. "There doubtless," he remarks, "their strange voices and involuntary agitations are admirably well acted, by the emotion of wires, and inspiration of pipes."² And fifteen or sixteen years later, we find at Philadelphia a printer who was or pretended that he was one of the Cévenol prophets, in the person of Keimer, the first employer of Benjamin Franklin, who tells us, in his *Autobiography*, that Keimer "had been one of the French prophets, and could act their enthusiastic agitations."³

Various methods were adopted to put an end to the prophets with their prophecies, which were for the most part denunciatory of Rome as Antichrist and foreshadowed the approaching fall of the papacy. But this form of enthusiasm had struck a deep root and it was hard to eradicate it. Imprisonment, in convent or jail, was the most common punishment, especially in the case of women. Not infrequently to

¹ Récit fidèle de ce qui s'est passé dans les assemblées de fanatiques du Vivarais, avec l'histoire de leurs prophètes et prophétesses, au commencement de l'année 1689. À M. le duc de Montausier, "*Œuvres complètes de Fléchier*," ix., 464.

² Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, in his "Letter concerning Enthusiasm to my Lord Summers," "*Characteristics*," i., 26-28.

³ "*Works of Benjamin Franklin*," edited by John Bigelow, i., 66, where it is noted that "M. Laboulaye presumes Keimer was one of the Camisards or Protestants of the Cévennes so persecuted by Louis XIV."

imprisonment was added corporal chastisement, and the prophets, male and female, were flogged until they might be regarded as fully cured of their delusion. To Marshal Villars, however, the palm must be given in the matter of cruel severity. We have it upon his own testimony that he deliberately ordered the execution of a poor woman for no other offence than this. She had been arrested in company with a score of others, and while undergoing an examination, she had, as he expresses it, the audacity to tremble and prophesy in his excellency's presence for the space of a whole hour! This act of temerity could, it seems, be expiated by no punishment short of the gallows.¹

The prevalence of the prophetic enthusiasm had an appreciable influence in bringing on the Camisard uprising. The impassioned exhortations of the seers, who, looking into the future, gave out that they there beheld the approaching triumph of the good cause over all its adversaries, were well calculated to nerve the courage of strong and hopeful men to desperate adventures. In fact, the words of Esprit Séguier were powerful in determining the Camisards in their deliberations prior to their first attack upon the house of the Abbé du Chayla. But no utterances of prophets, however fervid and impassioned, would have sufficed to occasion an uprising of the inhabitants of the Cévennes Mountains, had it not been for the virulent persecution to which the latter found themselves exposed at the hands of the provincial authorities directly instigated thereto by the clergy of the established church.

For it must be noticed that a large part of the population of the Cévennes was still Protestant, and made no conceal-

¹ "Mémoires du maréchal de Villars" (Collection Michaud et Poujoulat), 141. The entire passage, contained in a letter to the secretary of state, Chamillard, Sept. 25, 1704, is interesting: "J'ai vu dans ce genre des choses que je n'aurois jamais crues si elles ne s'étoient passées sous mes yeux: une ville entière, dont toutes les femmes et les filles, sans exception, paroisoient possédées du diable. Elles trembloient et prophétisoient publiquement dans les rues. J'en fis arrêter vingt des plus méchantes, dont une eut la hardiesse de trembler et prophétiser pendant une heure devant moi. Je la fis pendre pour l'exemple, et renfermer les autres dans des hospitaux." This was a murder in cold blood.

ment of the fact, even though the king's ministers affected to call them "New Catholics," or "New Converts." The region over which the Camisard war extended with more or less violence comprised six episcopal dioceses, which, in 1698, had an aggregate population of about two thirds of a million of souls. Of these souls, though Protestantism had been dead in the eye of the law for thirteen years, fully one fourth were still Protestant. But the distribution of this quarter was unequal in different parts of the region. For if in the diocese of the bishop of Mende the Reformed constituted only one eighth of the population, and in that of the bishop of Viviers, but one seventh, they could boast of being in a clear majority in the diocese of Alais, and were almost as numerous as the Roman Catholics in the diocese of Nismes. Taking these two last dioceses together (Alais and Nismes)—and these were pre-eminently the scene of the subsequent struggle,—there were 81,430 Protestants as opposed to only 71,110 Roman Catholics.¹ Moreover, if their numerical preponderance was so decided, the Protestants had notoriously the superiority in general intelligence, thrift, and industry.

I have spoken of the persecution to which this Protestant majority had for years been subjected, as exercised at the direct instigation of the clergy of the established church. In saying this I do not merely refer to the well-known fact, that the clergy had been in their periodical convocations, for the past one hundred years and over, the authors of every proposal which, when adopted by the court, proved one of the series of successive steps in the abrogation of the Protestant liberties.² Nor do I mean to emphasize the influence which clerical writers and orators had put forth

¹ The "*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Languedoc*," by M. de Basville, Intendant of the province, *apud* Court, "*Histoire des troubles des Cévennes*," i., 126-131, give the exact figures of the census of 1698. The total for the six dioceses is 663,701 souls, of which 166,777 are set down as of the Reformed faith.

² On this point see Auguste François Lièvre, "*Du rôle que le clergé catholique de France a joué dans la révocation de l'édit de Nantes*." Strasbourg, 1853.

tending to a general policy of persecution by the skilful use of their famous misinterpretation of our Lord's parable of the Great Supper; according to which the order given by the master of the house to his servant, "Compel them to come in," was held to be an injunction to use what the exegetes were pleased to call a "gentle" or "salutary" violence to induce the Huguenots to enter the Roman Catholic Church. In the spirit of this system of hermeneutics, Bishop Fléchier of Nismes set forth his view of the religious situation. "St. Paul," he says, "declares in his Epistle to the Galatians, that every one that is circumcised is bound to keep the whole law. The New Converts have, by baptism and abjuration, become subjects and children of the Roman Catholic Church, and are consequently bound to observe its laws. Therefore, according to the apostle's teaching, they may and should be constrained to do so. It is useless to say, that they have changed their mind; a rebellious subject or a disobedient child cannot relieve himself of his obligations. . . . Our intention is to make real Catholics; if they deceive us and their religion is an empty pretence, it is not for us to act as judges: that office belongs to God. The king has deemed it his duty to compass, by all sorts of methods, the salvation of his subjects. . . . It is not less proper that, after their abjuration, they should be compelled to fulfil the promise they have made to God."¹

But, as I have said, in mentioning the conduct of the clergy of the established church as the prime cause of the Camisard revolt, I refer neither to their agency in procuring the recall of the Edict of Nantes, nor to the intolerant counsel which they continued to give to the secular authorities; but, rather, to the irritating and insufferable meddlingness of the parochial priests and the inferior clergy. Not even now that the Edict of Nantes was revoked and that the great majority of the Protestants had succumbed, would they leave these unfortunates alone. Had the curates

¹ Lettre en forme de Mémoire à Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Paris concernant les nouveaux convertis (1698), "*Œuvres complètes de Fléchier*," v., 269-275.

been content to act as pastors of their own flocks, the Huguenots, though recognizing in them few of the lineaments of true spiritual shepherds, would have borne them no special dislike, and would, at all events, have taken good care to leave them undisturbed in the discharge of their ecclesiastical functions. But, unfortunately, to be a priest was in this case to be a spy, ever on the watch to detect and bring to grief those who failed to perform the duties of sincere children of the established church. Having forced such Protestants as had not succeeded in flight from the kingdom to profess Roman Catholicism, the ecclesiastics now sought to force them to be constant in the profession. Their hand was in every act of oppression, even, though from motives of prudence and from a decorous regard for the claim of the Church to be the author of peace, they often preferred to leave the execution of their schemes to the secular arm. Their contemporaries knew it; but even had the fact escaped their notice, the government archives, with their multitude of priestly denunciations, now for the first time brought to the light of day, would amply establish it. To be irreverent at mass, or to abstain from going thither at all, much more to attempt to deter others, was quite enough to occasion a secret missive, suggesting to the Intendant or his deputy, that such a one might advantageously make trial of prison walls. Here, for example, is a sentence or two from a note of this kind, written by Abbé Poncet de la Rivière to the Intendant of Languedoc, from the town of Uzès, May 25, 1701: "Monseigneur, I have within a few days learned the bad language in which master Trinquelaigue, senior, indulges, a man whose name is not unknown to you. Not satisfied with being a bad Catholic, he turns into ridicule those who do their duty. He prowls about in several communities, in which he does us much harm. He is a man that will die as he has lived; nevertheless, I believe that some citadel would do him good."¹

It is not my purpose in this paper to give a detailed

¹ Text of the letter in G. Frosterus, "Les Insurgés protestants sous Louis XIV." (Paris, 1868), p. 43.

account of the military struggle. A history so replete in incidents of the most stirring character could not be compressed within the short time that is at our disposal.

The war may be said to have begun on the 24th of July, 1702, when the Abbé du Chayla, a noted persecutor, was killed in his house, at Pont de Montvert, by a band of forty or fifty of the "Nouveaux Convertis," whom he had driven to desperation by his cruelty to their fellow believers. If we regard its termination to be the submission of Jean Cavalier, the most picturesque and, in some regards, the most able of the leaders, in the month of May, 1704, the war lasted a little less than two years. But, although the French government had succeeded, rather by craft than by force, in getting rid of the most formidable of its opponents, the danger of a widespread conflagration involving all the south-eastern part of the kingdom was by no means averted; and it was not until five or six years later—that is, until 1709 or 1710—that, the last Camisard chiefs having been successively surprised and slain in encounters with the royal troops, or, as was more frequently the case, betrayed by false friends and executed on the gallows or the wheel, comparative peace was finally restored.

That the outbreak was unpremeditated, the apparently fortuitous result of intolerable oppression, seems to be certain. It is equally beyond dispute that the very means employed to crush it, only tended to give it a wider scope and insure temporary success. When men saw that the judges took little pains to discriminate between the guilty and the innocent, those whose sympathies lay with the insurgents preferred the risks of the field to the perils encompassing them in their own homes. Thus it was that more than once a small band grew in the course of a few days to formidable proportions, because of the severity of the measures to which royal magistrates and generals resorted. Terror served rather as a spur than as a curb.

During the first months of the insurrection the exploits of the malcontents were confined to deeds of destruction accomplished by companies of venturesome men, who

almost everywhere eluded the pursuit of the enemy by their superior knowledge of the intricacies of the mountain woods and paths. The track of these companies could easily be made out ; for it was marked by the destruction of vicarages and rectories, by the smoke of burned churches, too often by the corpses of slain priests. The perpetrators of these acts of violence soon won for themselves some special designations, to distinguish them from the more passive Protestants who remained in their homes, taking no open part in the struggle. They called themselves simply "*the Children of God*," and their headquarters for the time being, "*the Camp of the Lord*." But their enemies at first nicknamed them "*Houssards*," "Hussars," because of their daring and the fear their advent inspired ; or "*Barbets*," because they were supposed to have some connection with the Waldenses, to whom the epithet had formerly been applied. About the close of 1702, however, or the first months of 1703, a new word was coined for the fresh emergency, and the armed Protestants received the appellation under which they have passed into history—the *Camisards*. Passing by all the strange and fanciful derivations of the word which seem to have no claim upon our notice, unless it be their evident absurdity, we have no difficulty in connecting it with those nocturnal expeditions which were styled *Camisades* ; because the warriors who took advantage of the darkness of the night to ride out and explore or force the enemy's entrenchments, sometimes threw over their armor a shirt that might enable them to recognize each other. Others will have it, that though the name was derived from the same article of apparel—the *camisa* or shirt, it was applied to the Cévenol bands for another reason, namely, that when the malcontents, weather-beaten and begrimed, from time to time made their appearance in some peaceful village in search of food or ammunition, they did not hesitate to make a substitution, which they considered a fair exchange, and no robbery, taking off what clean white linen they needed, and leaving their own soiled garments in lieu thereof.

The number of the leaders who from first to last headed the Camisards is as difficult to fix with precision as the number of the separate bands. Only two need be particularly mentioned—Roland and Cavalier—both men of the people, both young, and with little or no experience when they entered upon their work, both possessed of great nerve and address, and giving evidence of no little native military ability, and of a breadth of comprehension that would have stood them in good stead had they been called upon to command on more extended fields. As between the two, Jean Cavalier—the *pitot*, or shepherd's assistant, the baker's apprentice, who at the age of barely twenty-one years of age¹ found himself in command of men, many of them much older than he—was undoubtedly the more brilliant and striking figure, as his personal history also more strikingly exhibits the singular vicissitudes of fortune. To defeat more than once considerable bodies of trained soldiers under the command of officers of high rank, to treat as an equal with a marshal of France and secure terms from proud Louis XIV. himself, to gain the post of colonel in the French army, then to pass into foreign service, and finally to die under the flag of Great Britain, a major-general of his Majesty's troops and governor of the island of Jersey—these were some of the features in the career of the quondam *pitot* born at Ribaute. Yet, after all, not Cavalier, but Roland is the true hero of the Camisard war—Roland, the staunch assertor of Protestant rights, whose steady vision could not be dazzled by the glitter of the tempting offers of personal aggrandizement which Marshal Villars held forth; who under no circumstances would listen to suggestions of a peace based on other terms than those for which he had taken up arms—the virtual restoration of the Edict of Nantes and complete religious liberty—Roland who therefore preferred a speedy death on his native hills to the long life and worldly honors that might have been secured by a less uncompromising devotion to principle.

¹ Jean Cavalier was born November 28, 1681. See the baptismal record in Haag, "La France protestante" (2me ed.), iii., 926.

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These men, and men like them, of humble parentage, and possessed of no advantages of birth or station, obtained on the whole decided advantages over all the generals sent against them. Not that they were uniformly fortunate. Accustomed as they were to surprise the royal troops, falling upon them when least expecting an attack, they were themselves more than once the victims of similar movements on the part of the forces sent against them. Yet the general results of such actions were wonderfully in their favor. Had it been otherwise, the government, with the enormous preponderance of numbers, would speedily have crushed them. As it was, their final overthrow was not accomplished without the employment of one hundred thousand troops, certainly far more than ten times the total number ever brought into the field by the Camisards. No clearer evidence of the government's perplexity is needed than is afforded by the changes made in its generals. Not less than three officers of the highest grade in the service, marshals of France, were successively appointed to put down a revolt which it might have been expected a simple colonel could suffice to quell—M. de Broglie being succeeded by the Marshal de Montrevel, the Marshal de Montrevel by the Marshal de Villars, and the Marshal de Villars by the Marshal de Berwick.

A diversity of troops were employed. The burgess militia proved unsatisfactory. The very name *Camisard* inspired as much fear in them as, according to the account of Herodotus, the name of the Medes did in Greece at the beginning of the Persian wars. There was this difference in the two cases, however, that, whereas the stout-hearted Athenians speedily put aside all such terrors as soon as they had once met the barbarians on the plain of Marathon, the Roman Catholic militia only felt their fears intensified as time went on. And if perchance they heard, as the Camisards approached, the notes, only too well known, of the 68th Psalm, the Protestant battle hymn, they fled, to use the expressive words of a Roman Catholic officer, "as if all the devils had been at their heels."

¹ "Un officier françois, qui avoit servi contre les Camisards, me disoit un jour, en me parlant de cette guerre: 'Quand ces diables-là se mettoient à

Marines were brought in from ships of war at Toulon, and troops called "miquelets" from the province of Roussillon, on the Spanish frontier, accustomed to scale the rugged sides of the Pyrenees. Beside these, bands of volunteers, scarcely distinguishable from brigands, were encouraged to associate themselves for purposes of plunder, who, under the name of "*Cadets de la Croix*," or "*Camisards blancs*," so called to distinguish them from the Camisards proper, or "*Camisards noirs*," exercised a cruel warfare, often making little distinction between friend and foe. It is a Roman Catholic historian who in narrating the misery of the villagers of the Cévennes, pillaged alternately by Camisards and Cadets de la Croix, ludicrously likens the region to the unfortunate husband of the fable from whose head the elder wife plucked out every black hair, while the younger pulled out every gray one, and who in the end became totally bald.¹

The direct measures adopted by the government were, however, little less inhuman than the acts of these marauders. Not to speak of the unjust trial and execution of single individuals, against whom nothing had been proven, whole communities were fined enormous sums of money because a band of Camisards had obtained food or shelter within their bounds, or had held a religious meeting in some remote corner of their territory. This was made the rule by a decree of the royal council, fastening upon the entire commune the responsibility for whatever occurred within its bounds. In many cases whole bodies of men, women, and children were taken from their homes and transported to a distance, on the mere suspicion of sympathy with the Camisards. By a single order of Marshal Villars, some thousands of persons, not themselves accused of any crime, were thrown into the prisons of Nismes, Alais, Montpellier, and other cities, merely because they were the fathers or mothers or wives of the rebels who were in arms.² But the most barbarous of all

chanter leur B. de chanson, *Que Dieu se montre*, nous ne pouvions plus être les maîtres de nos gens : ils fuyoient comme si tous les diables avoient été à leurs trousses."—"Histoire des Camisards" (London, 1754), i., 244, 245.

¹ Brueys, ii., 263.

² Order of June 17, 1704, in Court, iii., 17, 18.

was the plan devised by the Intendant Basville, and distinctly approved by the ministers of Louis XIV., according to which that portion of the higher Cévennes which was peopled by the most determined Camisards, and from which it had been found impossible to dislodge them, was deliberately devoted to destruction. The project was carried out to the letter. For weeks, in the autumn of the year 1703, several bodies of troops, starting from various points, were busy with axe and crowbar and torch, and with other instruments of destruction, in executing their pitiless commission. The wretched inhabitants had but three days allowed them to remove from their homes to the villages or towns which were designated to them, but where they could not claim the shelter of a roof, and possibly had not a friend. Four hundred and sixty-six hamlets, comprised in thirty-one parishes, were blotted out of existence, and at the very lowest computation 19,500 human beings were turned upon the tender mercies of the world. Basville's original plan had probably contemplated the massacre of these Protestants, after the fashion of the slaughter of the doomed Vaudois of Mérindol and Cabrières in Provence, in the last part of the reign of Francis I. At least there is a significant passage in the "instructions" given to the troops, where it is said, "The king would not hearken to any suggestion of bloodshed"—"*Le Roy n'ayant pas voulu entendre parler d'effusion de sang*,"—apparently referring to a definite proposal to exterminate the Cévenol Huguenots.¹ If so, we may have to thank Louis XIV.'s tender-heartedness that the butchery which Louvois authorized in the Palatinate was not imitated in Languedoc.

It is not strange that the Camisards instantly retaliated, and that almost at the very moment their mountain hamlets were smoking, bands of men, bent only on revenge, were devoting the flourishing farms and villages of the Roman Catholics to the flames, even to the very gates of Nismes. Bishop Fléchier could see the fires from the windows of his episcopal palace.

¹ Louvreleuil, ii., 98 ; Court, ii., 39.

Cavalier, duped by Marshal Villars, submitted to the royal terms in May, 1704. He was to be colonel of a new regiment in the service of Louis XIV., to be recruited from the Camisards who had followed him so faithfully. He expected fully one thousand men to accompany him to the German border; of his troop of six hundred foot and horse only one hundred and fifty men actually went with him. His old associates for the most part denounced him as a traitor to the cause, and refused to have any thing to do with him.

It is interesting to note that during the discussion of the terms upon which the leaders of the Camisards would accept of peace, the provincial authorities placed the small town of Calvisson in their hands. Instantly it was seen how much of truth there was in the assertion that Protestantism in France was dead. Scarcely had the Camisards taken possession of the place and posted their guards, when, after an hour or two given to much needed rest, they betook themselves to the site of their ancient "temple" or church, there to celebrate divine worship. At the news that the services of their faith were again held in their vicinity, the Protestants of the entire region—miscalled New Converts and New Catholics—flocked to Calvisson. At a single service, four or five thousand persons came together. They prayed, they listened again without hindrance to the preaching of God's word, they joined in singing the prohibited psalms of Marot and Beza. Almost as soon as one service was over, another began. A contemporary writer will have it, that during the few days of the Camisard possession, Protestant services were held for twenty hours out of every twenty-four. Forty thousand persons from first to last joined in the beloved worship of which they had been long deprived. It was a bitter experience for the bigots who looked on and could not prevent.

Three months after Cavalier's surrender, Roland was surprised and killed (August 1704). His death was a disastrous blow to the Camisards, more disastrous even than Cavalier's defection. Within a little more than a month many of the

leaders, losing heart, came in and surrendered themselves to the authorities—Castanet, Catinat, Joany, La Rose, Valette, Marion, and others, with more than five hundred men, to whom a safeguard was given to go out of France (Sept.—Oct., 1704). The next spring Ravanel, Jonquet, and Vilas were captured and put to death (April, 1705). A month later came the execution of Boëton. Yet still the war was not at an end. A few intrepid leaders of no less intrepid men, continued to maintain themselves in the Cévennes, and to perform exploits of valor worthy of the best days of Greece and Rome. The conflict of Justet, for example, a prodigy of physical strength, alone and unarmed against two grenadiers whom, giant-like, he held one in either hand, and slew by smiting them together, does not suffer by comparison with the deeds of prowess recorded of any of the band of Leonidas at Thermopylæ.¹

And so, about the year 1710, closed the final scene in this dramatic episode of the history of French Protestantism. A few months before, on the 29th of April, a victim had been immolated on the altar of religious intolerance, whose last hours present an incident of pathetic interest, not devoid of prophetic significance. An old Camisard, who had also officiated as a preacher, Salomon Sabatier by name, was detected lurking at Alais, thanks to the extraordinary vigilance of the provincial authorities. He was taken to Montpellier, there promptly adjudged guilty of death, and ordered to be broken alive upon the wheel. Only four days elapsed between his apprehension and the execution of the barbarous sentence. In that brief interval, and, indeed, before he was transferred from the prison of Alais, the officer into whose hands he had fallen was importuned by some ladies of the place to gratify their curiosity by bringing out the Camisard from his dungeon to preach before them. Too gallant to refuse a favor so easily granted, M. de la Lande ordered the jailer to produce his prisoner, and on Sabatier's arrival intimated to him the desire that had been expressed. The Cévenol preacher could not be ignorant of the unworthy motive that

¹ Brueys, iii., 553, 554. Court, iii., 252, 253.

had led to the invitation, or of the want of sympathy in his expectant auditors with the only truths he felt at liberty to announce to them. None the less did he cheerfully comply with the general's demand. For his text he chose the first verse of the fifty-ninth chapter of Isaiah: "Behold the Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save; neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear." Taking advantage of the rare opportunity now enjoyed by the Protestant churches of France for a brief moment of setting forth their deplorable condition as the objects of an unjust persecution, he passed on to the consideration of the joy felt by their triumphant enemies. Over against this stood their own unshaken confidence of ultimate deliverance. Cast down to the earth as they were, these innocent victims of unparalleled oppression, speaking, as by their mouth-piece through a man about to be put to death by the most cruel form of execution known to a bloody code of law, proclaimed without hesitation the certainty of a hope founded upon the promises of God, upon His pity, upon His goodness, upon His power. His arm was not shortened: it would yet be outstretched for their deliverance. His ear was not heavy: it was even now listening to every sigh, and groan, and cry of His children suffering such injury and outrage.

Again, as so often in the history of the Christian Church, it was the prisoner for righteousness' sake that assumed the place of conqueror, and triumphant Iniquity was forced to crouch at his feet, vanquished in the moral strife. As for the Camisard preacher's audience, those who had come to sport with the misfortunes of a helpless captive, were touched, were moved to tears, possibly began to doubt the justice of a cause which was compelled to resort to violence for its maintenance. Perceiving this, M. de la Lande, annoyed at the issue of his friends' curiosity, and vexed with himself that he had acceded to their request, abruptly ordered Sabatier to be silent, and sent him back to confinement.¹

Cui bono? Had the struggle been all in vain? Must the thousands of lives lost on the Cévennes, in the lowlands,

¹ Antoine Court, "Histoire des troubles des Cévennes," iii., 272, 273.

in the Vaunage, be regarded as a wasteful sacrifice, from which humanity, from which religion has derived no appreciable advantage? I think not.

First of all, the Camisards demonstrated beyond controversy, both to the crown and to the Roman Catholic people of France, that Protestantism, so far from being destroyed, was in fact indestructible. When Louis XIV. based his revocatory edict upon the assumption that the greater and better part of the adherents of the "so-called Reformed Religion" had been converted, we can, taking the most charitable view of the case, but suppose him to have been scarcely half convinced of the proposition which he was affirming. He was determined, however, to make it true. His advisers, especially the more intelligent men both of the clergy and of the laity, argued that, even if possibly Protestant parents could only be constrained to make a very insincere profession of Roman Catholicism, it was quite practicable to bring up the children in that profession from the start. The next generation, at any rate, would consist of trustworthy members of the established church. To secure this end, laws were enacted trampling on all the dictates of natural justice; parents were compelled by severe penalties not only to bring their children to the public services, but to send them to catechetical classes; parents suspected of endeavoring, by private instruction, to counteract the priestly instruction, were arbitrarily sent to a place of confinement; or else their children were pitilessly torn from the home and placed in some convent or monastery. By these and other measures of the same kind, pursued systematically for a long course of years, it was expected that the aim would certainly be compassed.

The outbreak of the Camisard revolt roughly dispelled the dream. Bishop Fléchier, whose diocese, as has been seen, was its theatre, begged his friends to commiserate him—he had lost, he said, the entire fruits of seventeen years of labor.¹ His surprise is almost pitiful when he tells us that

¹ "Nous voyons tout le fruit de nos travaux de dix-sept ans perdu." Letter of April 25, 1703. "*Œuvres*," x., 121.

the Protestants, or, as he still persists in calling them, the New Converts, of his diocese, whom he has "instructed, served, assisted, treated with great mildness and charity since their conversion, have almost to a man been wholly perverted, and have instantly become enemies of God, of the king, of the Catholics, and especially of the priests."¹ Evidently there were just as many Protestants as there had been so-called New Converts—all animated by a strong desire to profess the doctrines of the Reformation, all imbued with a violent hatred of the prevalent system, a hatred displaying itself not merely in a wholesale abandonment of the parish churches, but in deeds of violence, often savage and most unjustifiable, directed against members of the ecclesiastical establishment. And it is to be noted, that the active participants in the warfare were chiefly young men. The Edict of Nantes had been revoked, and Protestantism proscribed, for not less than seventeen years, when the war broke out. Those who took the most prominent part in it were twenty, twenty-five, or thirty years of age; they were either infants or young children when the tolerant law of Henry IV. was recalled. Consequently their attachment to Protestantism was created at the very time when the clergy believed that, by their instructions, they were training the younger generation, the Protestant children, to become zealous Roman Catholics. Thus the uprising of the Camisards proved to their enemies the complete failure of the attempt to destroy Protestantism.

It had a corresponding effect upon the Protestants themselves. It encouraged them to believe that there were better things in store for them; that they had but to bide their time, and the monstrous fabric of persecution must crumble and fall. In the words of Holy Writ, which Sabatier so appropriately chose for his text, the Lord's hand was not shortened that it could not save. Deliverance would yet come in God's appointed way.

But the experience of the war showed that the way was not to be through force of arms, not by the prowess of the

¹ Letter of April 27, 1704, *ubi supra*, x., 147.
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Protestants themselves, nor by the interposition of foreigners or foreign states. On the one hand, the hopes based upon the promised help of sympathizers abroad came to nothing. On the other, the demoralizing effects of war discredited a recourse to the sword as the means of establishing a reign of peace and righteousness upon the earth. The excesses of the Camisards themselves, or of bands conveniently sheltering themselves under their name, were surpassed in cruelty only by the excesses of the "Cadets de la Croix," and the so-called "Camisards blancs," and disgusted many of those even whose natural sympathies were with the cause of religious toleration. Hence the collapse of a movement which, had it enlisted the undivided support of all the members of the Reformed communion, might have lasted if not indefinitely, yet for a much longer period than that which it actually covered.

At the same time, if the Camisard war did not strike a death-blow at the enthusiastic frenzy of the Cévenol prophets, it hastened the extinction of that delusion. Pretended revelations from Heaven did much to nerve the courage of the first Camisards. Persuaded that the road to victory was distinctly pointed out by seers inspired of the Holy Ghost, men willingly undertook the most hazardous enterprises. Assured that their bodies were invulnerable, they rushed into conflict with little thought of danger, doubting not that God would take care of His own children. But as the war advanced, the instances of the disappointment of hopes based upon private revelations multiplied, and while these did not altogether dispel the illusion, they did much to shake the faith of the many. Thus it was that the Camisards made the path of Antoine Court and his associates less rugged when, about five years after the execution of Sabatier, he undertook to bring order out of the reigning confusion, and inaugurated that noble work of setting up again the ecclesiastical organization and discipline of his fellow believers that has earned for him the enviable title of "Restorer of French Protestantism." The failure of the Camisard uprising was an important factor in the success of the Churches of the "Desert."

PAROCHIAL LIBRARIES IN THE COLONIAL
PERIOD.

PAROCHIAL LIBRARIES IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

BY BISHOP JOHN FLETCHER HURST, D.D., LL.D.,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Protestant colonists who first came to this continent possessed strong literary tastes. The Dutch were at first controlled largely by the purely commercial spirit, but in a short time a literary tendency developed itself decidedly among them, which was strengthened by a close communication with such literary centres in Holland as Leyden and other seats of learning. No portion of our colonists placed stronger emphasis on the requirements for a learned clergy than the Dutch. The Swedes, for the short time that they held a secure footing on the banks of the Delaware, gave most valuable literary treatment to their colonial home. Luther's Catechism was translated into the Virginian-Indian language, printed in Stockholm in 1696, and sent out under the patronage of King Carl XI., to do missionary work among the savages. Svedberg wrote "*America Illuminata*," for the purpose of acquainting his countrymen in Sweden with the New World. Campanius and Acrelius wrote large and full descriptive works, which, for minute treatment, were not surpassed by any writers in the entire colonial period.

The two great colonial bodies were the Virginia and the Plymouth colonies,—the former settling on the James River in 1607, and the latter arriving at Cape Cod in 1620. These absorbed all minor colonial deposits on the western continent, and gave character to the whole duplex civilization which has ever since distinguished both the colonial and national history of our people. As to a taste for literature, both the Puritan of New England and the Cavalier of Vir-

ginia possessed it. Their associations in Europe had been such as to promote it.

There was, however, a fundamental difference between the Puritan and the Church of England man. The Puritan was in general revolt against the mass of theology which he saw about him. To him the Church Fathers, excepting always the great Augustine, had no special charm. The Patristic theology, the immense liturgical accumulations, the exegetical treatises in ponderous folios, the controversial works between the Church of England and the Roman hierarchy, were to him so much "jerked meat," good enough for a long journey across a desert, but very unsavory when Geneva, Heidelberg, Leyden, Westminster, and Glasgow, could be drawn upon for fresher and more juicy supplies. The Churchman of Virginia could feel happy with many of the works which England had produced before the Reformation. But the Puritan was uncomfortable amid the vellum tomes of mediæval theology. He craved the ozone of the higher peaks. Calvin was to him at once his best exhilaration and his richest food. But Calvin, with all his marvellously productive power, had written too little to satisfy the real descendant of the Pilgrim, or to meet his new world of American wants. Therefore, the Puritan saw that many new books must be written, and, finding none so competent as himself, went industriously to the task. In Virginia, Smith, Sandys, Bacon, and others were authors. But authorship in Virginia was not favored by the authorities, so far as colonial issues were concerned. There was no printing-press in that colony prior to 1681; and even after a printing-press had been set up, the printer was summoned before Lord Culpepper, and required to enter into bonds "not to print any thing hereafter, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known"—which meant the remainder of his Majesty's natural life. In 1683, when Lord Effingham came out as Governor of Virginia, he received from the ministry instructions "to allow no person to use a printing-press on any occasion whatsoever."¹ From that time until 1729 not a printing-

¹ Tyler, "History of American Literature," vol. i., pp. 89, 90.

press was set up in Virginia. It was during this very period that the Mathers and other Puritans of New England were making the presses of Boston and Cambridge groan beneath the ceaseless burden of their copy. Sermons and other publications were printed in many of the young New England towns, and even the presses of London were called upon to aid in giving to the public the rapidly multiplying works of New England authors. Throughout New England we find no attempt to found libraries for the parishes, except the single Parochial Library established in Boston by Bray—the *Bibliotheca Bostoniana*.

But collections of books rapidly grew, such as those of Harvard and Yale. Besides, the pastors in New England were distinguished for private theological treasures. Occasionally some dark and worn volume still turns up, which bears the name of Increase Mather or some other of the early New England theological potentates, as the original possessor. These men had thus within reach the few trusted friends whom they would call to their aid on the theological battle-field of the day, and woe betide the skull, be it Quaker, Baptist, or Anglican, on which might fall their ponderous battle-axes. When the Puritans had but little money to give to a good cause, they had at least books. The foundation of Harvard Library, and a most significant gift, was John Harvard's bequest of 300 books. The first gifts we hear of for the founding of Yale College were by the ten poor clergymen who, in 1700, met in Branford, each one agreeing, as he made his gift of a few books: "I give these books for founding a college in Connecticut." There was safety here. No danger was there of books being sold to pay current expenses, while endowments in actual money might easily be alienated, as has been the case with certain American institutions down to date. Cotton Mather circulated a subscription list among the Harvard young men to get money and books to send to poor struggling Ziegenbalg, who was then planting the first Protestant mission in the Oriental world. At the same time he gathered books for the same noble purpose. The box of

books reached India, but only in the following year, Ziegenbalg having died in the meantime. But the money has not as yet arrived. What wonder that the New England colonists loved books, and possessed them? Their pastors had been trained in Cambridge, and to study had been their business. The Brownists who had sailed from Scrooby had kept together, and made the fight which made them immortal, by a hurricane of pamphlets. Even the little cabin of the *Mayflower* had its authors, and time enough had they on their hands to perfect their style.

Other causes existed why the foundation of libraries in the parishes was never prominent in the New England mind. Among these must be reckoned the want of a wealthy and sympathetic public in England to furnish the means. Another was, that the relation of the New England pastor to his flock was of a different order from that of his Anglican brother on the James. He was not only the spiritual, but also the intellectual, guide for his parish. But it is to be suspected, after all, that the chief cause was, that the New England pastor did not see in the existing theology or science a sufficient amount of safe intellectual material to entrust to the average family in his parish. He could give his hearers, as he thought, enough of both theology and science on the Sabbath day, and at the week-evening lectures. As to the children, they all had to go to school, and the pastor had generally the determining voice in the selection of the teacher.

We now come to the systematic and successful attempt, the only one ever made in the colonies, to found Parochial Libraries. This was the work of the Rev. Thomas Bray, Commissary of the Bishop of London. Bray was a phenomenon of zeal, foresight, and abounding charity. Born in Marston, in Shropshire, in 1656, he early devoted himself to the clerical profession, and soon wielded a forcible pen. He developed bibliographical tastes, and attracted the attention of Compton, the bishop of London, to himself, both by his authorship and pastoral zeal. The spiritual wants of the Virginia colony had long excited the sympathy

of the Church of England. There was as yet no bishop in America, and the Church at home was divided on the question, whether the Virginia colony should have its ecclesiastical guidance from London or by a bishop in person. In 1709 a plan was half formed, not only to send out a bishop, but to send out Dean Swift,—of all men in England the oddest selection! But the whole idea of supplying the colonial Church with bishops lost sympathy and failed. In 1696 the Bishop of London appointed Bray as Commissary, or deputy with power, for the Province of Maryland.¹ Bray was the founder of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. The organization had for its object the diffusion of knowledge in both Britain and the Colonies. But it soon became clear that it was necessary to enlarge its work in America, and to do this required the entire work of the society. Bray accordingly set to work to establish a new society, for this sole purpose. In the third year of the existence of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the labors of Bray resulted in the formation of a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.² In these efforts he was aided by Archbishop Tenison. The new society held its first meeting in Lambeth Palace in 1701. The objects were: First, provision for learned and orthodox ministers; and second, such other provision as might be necessary for the people.

No organization in Protestant history has probably had so many honored names connected with its beginning as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Among them we may mention: Burkitt, author of "Notes on the New Testament"; Tenison, author of a "Treatise on the Septuagint and Vulgate"; White Kennett, who wrote the first, and still excellent, "Bibliography of Americana," the "*Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia*"; Stanhope, author of a "Paraphrase and Comment on the Epistles and Gospels"; Burnet, the historian; Stillingfleet,

¹ Dalcho, "Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina," p. 78.

² Perry, "History of the American Episcopal Church," vol. i., pp. 196 ff.

Patrick, John Evelyn, Moore, and others. The Society had correspondents on the Continent, among whom were Jablonsky, of Halle; Osterwald, of Neuchâtel; and others.¹ But Bray was the moving spirit. He set himself to work with great energy, first of all, to supply the province of Maryland with clergymen from England, and then to supply them with books. Indeed, when Bray was offered the position of Commissary of Maryland, he made it a condition that he should be supported in his efforts to found Parochial Libraries in the colonies. He remained four years in England before going to Maryland, during which time he wrought indefatigably for the sending out of clergymen to the colonies, and for supplying them with books.

In the midst of these efforts for books, Bray was met with the objection: "Why send books to the plantations? There are more cures and poor clergymen in England, and charity should begin at home."² It was the old objection to giving to a good but distant object. Not even distance lends enchantment to the miserly view. But Bray was equal to the occasion. "Very well," this man of resources said, "we will accommodate you." He accordingly went to work for money for supplying the poor clergymen of England and Wales with books.³ He originated Parochial and Lending Libraries in England and Wales, and also libraries for the benefit of students about to take holy orders, and for schools poorly endowed. In 1703 he published an essay on the importance of this work, and in 1709 his labors resulted in the passage of an act of Parliament for the "Better Preservation of Parochial Libraries in England." He had the satisfaction of establishing sixty-seven Lending Libraries in England and Wales, and sixteen in the Isle of Man.

When Bray went to Maryland, and came in personal contact with the clergy, he found his views of the necessity of supplying them with books strongly confirmed. Some of the parishes were sparsely settled, and very poor. Many of

¹ Anderson, "History of the Colonial Church," vol. ii., pp. 409 ff.

² Overton, "Life in the English Church, 1660-1774," pp. 220 ff.

³ "Life and Doings of Dr. Bray," p. 17.

them were thirty miles square, and others as much as fifty miles square. Bray divided the ten counties into thirty-one parishes.¹ The principal objects which he laid down were: That it was necessary to supply the parishes with books, because of the poverty of the clergy; because more clergy would be willing to go to America, if books were supplied them; because of the contempt in which the clergy of America were held; and because of the intrusion of "heresy" by the slipping in of Quakers, Presbyterians, Baptists, and other so-called heretics. He held that one hundred pounds sterling, laid out in a Library, would induce "learned and sober ministers to go out to the Plantations," and that fifty pounds' worth of books was the least to enable ministers to discharge the duties of their functions.²

Bray's labors resulted in the establishment of thirty-nine Parish Libraries throughout Maryland and the other colonies. Even Newfoundland and some of the West India Islands were benefited by his efforts. The area covered by his work for the establishment of Parochial Libraries extended from Newfoundland as far south as the borders of Georgia. To some parishes over 1,000 volumes were given, and in one case, that of St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis, 1,095 were given.³ To others only a few volumes were donated. Not only did Bray devote a large portion of his time to this work, but he gave more money than any other contributor. The books were of two classes—one for the use of the clergy, and such as only the clergy would be likely to read, or were able to read. The rest of them were for the laity. In 1701 Bray published several "Circular Letters" to the clergy of Maryland, enforcing the duty of providing books especially for the safe work of catechization. He divided the catechumens into three classes: 1. Those under nine years of age. 2. Those between nine and thirteen. 3. Those from thirteen upwards. To each class he assigned proper instruction by the clergy, and named the books to

¹ Griffith, "Sketches of the Early History of Maryland," p. 36.

² Bray, "Apostolical Charity." London, 1699.

³ Gambrall, "Church Life in Colonial Maryland," pp. 55 ff.

be used.¹ He speaks, in one of the "Circular Letters," of the Lending Library as "my darling contrivance." Bray had the notion that a loaned book was likely to do more good than one possessed by the reader. He declared that a book loaned is more speedily read and better digested. The clergy were told that by lending books they could become better acquainted with the wants of the people, and, indeed, that the entire arrangement was a mutual advantage. The portion of the Parochial Library designed for the laity was kept in a book-case in the vestry-room, and placed under the care of the rector of the time and his vestrymen. The clergyman was to distribute the books as needed. Some of the smaller books, up to octavos, could be taken out and kept for three months; but the folios could be kept for six months. Persons of experience were deputed to visit these libraries, and proper returns had to be made concerning the care of the books. The Governor had the power to appoint a visitor to inspect them, and, upon the neglect or loss of a book, the rector could be sued for the damage done. The arrangement of the laymen's part of the Parochial Library was as follows:

I. Books for instruction in all things necessary for salvation: (1) Holy Scriptures; (2) Books to awaken persons; (3) General instruction in the whole body of divinity; (4) Instruction in the conditions of the covenant. The books sent out for this purpose were: Kettlewell, "Christian Believer," "Whole Duty of Man," Seaman's "Monitors," Sherlock, "On Death"; Ellis, "Consideration and Speedy Repentance"; Ashton, "Death-bed Repentance"; Patrick, "Discourse of Prayer"; D'Assigny, "Divine Art of Prayer"; Kettlewell, "Help and Exhortation to Worthy Communicating"; and Dorrington, "Familiar Guide to the Holy Scriptures."

II. The second class of books was designed to restore such as had fallen into sin. Each form of error had its theological remedy:

¹ Bray, "Several Circular Letters to the Clergy of Maryland, Subsequent to their Late Visitation," London, 1701.

(1) For general apostasy, "Cyprian's Discourse on the Unity of the Church" must be read.

(2) For apostasy to the Quakers it was required there should be read "The Snake in the Grass" and "The Snake in Answer to the Switch"; also, Keith's "Christian Catechism."

(3) For Papists it was necessary to read Bennett's "Epitome of Discourse against Papacy; also, "Accounts of the Cruelties done to Protestants on Board the French Galleys, with an Exhortation to Perseverance."

The books in the Parochial Libraries intended for general reading were distributed on Sundays to the people who came to worship. Special sermons and small treatises were placed in the pews, together with Bibles and Books of Common Prayer for the general use of the congregation on the Sabbath.

It can easily be seen that to resist the incoming of doctrines not in harmony with the Church of England, and their spreading into the other provinces, was one of the chief objects of the Parochial Libraries of the colonies. But the devoted Bray was not satisfied with books. It was he who was instrumental in leading George Keith, originally a great advocate of the Quaker faith in the colonies, into the Church of England, and his employment as the first travelling missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. On the occasion of his visitation to the clergy of Maryland, in Annapolis, in the year 1700, Bray proposed to send a missionary to Pennsylvania for the reclamation of the Quakers, who, as he alleged, were "sadly deluded into a total apostasy from the Christian faith." A subscription was immediately taken among the clergy present for that object, resulting in the raising of twenty-three pounds sterling.

We have a complete list of the Library of Herring Creek, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, furnished by Gambrall.¹ The titles prove at once the theological taste of the Episcopal Church in the colonies at that time, and the wisdom

¹ "Church Life in Colonial Maryland," pp. 104-111.

with which Bray made his selections for the colonial clergy.
The catalogue is as follows :

1698. BOOKES RECEIVED BY YE REVEREND MR. HENRY HALL, ye —
of May.

A catalogue of Bookes belonging to ye library of St. James' parish in Ann Arrundel County in Maryland, sent by ye Reverend Dr. Bray, and marked thus : belonging to ye library of Herring Creeke — Ann Arrundel County.

Bookes in Folio—Twenty.

	Printed in
1 Biblia Sacra, etc., ab imp. Tremellio and Fran. Juno, etc.	1603
2 Poli Synopsis Criticorum, vol. 4 in libr's 5	1696
3 Dr. Hammond upon ye New Testament	1696
4 The Cambridge Concordance	1698
5 Mr. Hookers Ecclesiasticall Politie in 8 bookes	1682
6 Clementis Recognition : libri 10 etc. Opus eruditit D : Irenai : epis : Lugd. advs, Hares : etc. lib. 5	1526
7 Dr. Jeremiah Taylor's Ductor Dubitantium	1660
8 Bishop Pearson on ye Apostles Creed	1683
9 Bishop Sanderson—36 Discourses, life and preface	1689
9 Bishop Sanderson—21 Discourses	1686
10 Philippi a Limborch etc., Theologia Christiana	1695
11 A : B : Tillotson's workes	1696
12 The Jesuites Morals by Dr. Touge	1679
13 Du Pino Ecclesiasticall History vol. 7, books 3	1696
14 A view of Universall History from ye Creation to ye yeare 1680 by Fran : Tallents	
15 Thomaa Aquinatis summa totius Theologie in 3 P : B :	1622
16 Blomes Geography and Cosmography translated from Varenius and taken from Mons : Sanson	1693
17 Tuden : Le Blane Thesis Theologicae	1683
18 Sir Richard Baker's Cronicle of ye Kings of England	1696
19 I. Sept Florentis Tertuliani opera qe. hactenus reperiri potuerunt omnia	1590
20 Dr. Bray's Catecheticall Lectures vol. 1st, or lectures on ye Church Catechism	1697

Bookes in Quarto Marked as Above.

1 Robertson : Thesaurus Graecae linguae	1676
2 Ejusdem Thesaurus linguae Sanctae	1680
3 Linguae Romanae luculent : Novum Diction	1693
4 Luijto (Johannis) Introductio ad Geographium	1692
5 Ejusdem Institutio Astronomica	1695
6 The Holly Bible with ye Common Prayer	1696
7 Francisci Turrentini Compendm. Theologiae	1695

	Printed in
8 Vict: Bithneri Lyra Prophetica	1650
9 Dr. Parker's Demonstratio of ye law of nature	1681
10 Dr. Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis	1697
11 A: B: Leighton's practicall commentary on ye first epistle generall of St. Peter in 2 vols. first in	1693
second in	1694
12 Ejusdem Praelictiones Theologicae	1693
13 Dr. Sherlock. Concerning Providence	1697
14 Dr. Patrick's Parable of ye Pilgrime	1607
15 Lord B: p: of London-Derry Exposition on ye Ten Commandments with two other discourses	1692
16 A Commonplace Booke of ye Holly Bible	1697
17 Dr. Comber's Church History cleared from Roman forgeries	1695
18 Jonathan Stolham's Reviler rebuked	1657

Bookes in Octavo—viz:

1 An adridgm't of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of ye world in 5 bookes	1698
2 The B: p: of Bath and Wells Commentary on ye 5 bookes of Moses in two volumes	1694
3 Dr. Sherlock on Death and Judgment	1694
4 Louis le Comptes Memoirs and observations	1697
5 The workes of ye authors of ye whole dutty of man in two volumes	1697
6 Fran: Palaeopolitanus Divine Dialogues 2 volumes	1668
7 The Septuagint etc. 2 volumes	1665
8 Sanct Salvianus De Gubernatione Dei etc.	1683
9 Elis de Articulis: 39 Ecclesiae Anglicanae	1696
10 The plaine man's guide to Heaven	1697
11 B: p: King Concerning ye invention of men in ye worship of God	169—
12 The Christian Monitor	169—
Mr. Nake's Preparation for death	168—
13 Sactantii opera omnia	168—
14 Episc: Sanderson de Obligatione Conscientiae	169—
15 Idem de Juramento promission	16—
16 Daniel Williams of gospell truth	1695
17 Nath. Spinckes of Trust in God	1696
18 Reflections upon ye bookes of Holly Scripture, 2 volumes	1688
19 Mr. Dodwell's two letters of advice	1691
20 Xenophon de Institutione Cyrri Graece	1698
21 Henipin's New discovery of America	1698
22 Dr. Bates's Harmony of ye Divine attributes	1697
23 A: B: Leighton's Discourses	1692
24 Dr. Comber on ye Com'on Prayer	1609
25 An Inquirey after Happiness part ye 1st	1697
25 An Inquirey after Happiness part ye 2nd	1696
26 Part ye third by ye author of practicall Christianity	1697

	Printed in
27 Dr. Scott's Christian life, part ye first, vol. 1st	1692
And part ye second of vol. ye second	1691
28 Dr. Connant's Discourses, 2 vols.	1697
29 Grotius de jure Belli et Pacis	1651
30 Dr. Jerem. Taylor's of Holly Living and Dying	1695
31 Dr. Busbig's Græcae Gramatices Rudiment	1693
32 Rays's Wisdom of God in ye Workes of Creation	1692
33 Dr. Pierce Pacificator : Orthodoxo Theolog : Corpuscul :	1685
34 B : P : Burnets Pastorall Care	1692
35 P : Lombardi Sententiarum libri : 4 : Coloniae	1609
36 Doctor Stradlings Discourses	1692
37 Theoph : Dorington's Family Devotion, 4 vols.	1695
38 Amesius de Conscientia	1631
39 Dr. Bray of ye Baptismal Covenant	1697
40 Dr. Falkner's Vindication of Liturgies	1681
41 His Libertas Ecclesiastica	1683
42 Ye B : P : of Bath & Nells on ye Church Catechism	1686
43 Clerici Ars Critica	1698
44 Doct Barron on ye Apostles Creed	1697
45 The Snake in ye Grass	1698
46 B : P : Stillingfleet Concerning Christ's Satisfaction	1697
47 His Vindication of ye Doctrine of ye Trinity	1697
48 His Discourses, 2 volumes	1697
49 A Discourse Concerning Lent in 2 parts	
50 William Wilson of Religion and ye Resurrection	1694
51 Dr. Ashton Concerning Deathbed-Repentance	1696
52 H. Stephani Catechismus Graeco-Latinus	1604
53 Biblia Vulgata p. Robertum Stephanum	1555
54 The Life and Meditations of M : A : Antoninus R : Emp.	1692
55 Abbadies Vindication of ye Trueth of Xtian Religion part 1st	1694
— Abbadies Vindication of ye Trueth part 2d	
56 The Practicall believer, in two parts	1688
57 Wingates Arithmetic	1694
58 Sr. Math. Hales Contemplations Morall and Divine in 2 parts	1695
59 Fran : Buggs Picture of Quakerism in two parts	1695
W. A. of Divine Assistance	1698
His Christian Justification stated	1670
60 { His animadversions on yt p. t of Robt. Ferguson's book, entitled ye Interest of Reason in Religion which treats of Justification	1676
61 His Serious and Friendly Address to ye Non-Conformists	1693
— His State of ye Church in Future Ages	1684
— The Mystery of iniquity Unfolded	1675
62 W : A : Catholicisme	1683
— The Danger of Enthusiasm Discovered	1674
W. A. of Humility	1681
63 { Of ye nature, series and order of Occurences	1689
His persuation to Peace and unjty among Xtians	1680

		Printed in
64	The First	1695
65	The Second	1696
66	The Third	1696
67	The Fourth	1697
—	Dr. Tillotson's Rule of Faith	1670
68	Dr. Stillingfleets' Reply to J. S. 3rd Appendix etc.	1675
69	The Unreasonable : of Atheisme made Manifest	1669
70	Dr. Hammond de Confirmatione	1665
71	Dr. Nake, Concerning Swearing, Duplicate	1696
72	His Discourses on Severall Occasions	1697
73	Dr. Cockburn's Fifteen Discourses	169—
73	Ascetecks or ye Heroick vertue of ye Ancient Christian Anchorites and Caenobites	1691
74	Theologica Mistica : 2 Discourses Concerning Devine Communication to Souls Duly Disposed	1697
75	Dr. Goodman's Seven Discourses	1697
76	Dr. Horneck's Severall Discourses upon ye fifth chapter of Matthew, vol. ye 1st.	1698
77	Dr. Pelling's Discourse upon Humility	1694
78	Concerning Holliness	1695
79	Concerning ye Existence of God	1696
80	Jno. Ketlewells Help and Exhortation to Worthy Communicating	1698
81	His five Discourses on Practicall Religion	1696
82	His Measures of Christian Obedience	1696
83	Dr. Hody of ye Resurrection of ye Same Body	1694
84	Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christiana	1675
85	Mr. John Edwards' Thoughts Concerning ye severall Causes and Occasions of Atheism	—
86	His Socinianism Unmasked	1696
—	His Discourse Concerning ye Authority, Stile, and perfection of ye	
87	Old and New Testament, in three vol:	1696

Bray, after devoted labors in Maryland, returned to England and prosecuted the work of sending out clergymen to America and of soliciting funds for the Parochial Libraries, and especially in fruitless efforts that bishops be appointed for the American colonies. He never returned to Maryland; but, until his death, sustained a warm interest in the colonies. He sent a total of about thirty-four thousand religious works to this country, and at his death "Dr. Bray's Associates" continued his labors.

The Revolution marks the close of the foreign interest in the colonial Parish Libraries. They began to be scattered during that period of convulsion, and, though efforts were made to renew them, they did not result in success. Books

were not returned, and no account was taken of them. The visitors did not visit the libraries any more, and the rectors stood in no fear of prosecution for neglect of them.¹

The Libraries, however, were no longer needed as before. The day of the American printing-press had come for every colony. But the influence of the Parochial Libraries in developing a literary taste among the Protestant Episcopal clergy, not only of Maryland, but of all the colonies, and now of all the States, is a rich inheritance, and belongs to the still unwritten chapters of our better ecclesiastical history.

Perhaps the largest collection now remaining of any one of the Parochial Libraries of the colonies is to be found in an alcove of St. John's College, Annapolis. It was kept in the State-house until that building was burned in 1704, when it was removed to, and united with, King William's School, established in 1696-97. In 1785 these books were given to St. John's College. The present rector of St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis—Rev. W. S. Southgate, D. D.—thus describes this collection: "There is an alcove in the library of St. John's College, Annapolis, filled with a miscellaneous collection of very old books, presenting a striking contrast to the new and fresh appearance of the contents of the other alcoves. They are all in their original leather binding, and in a very dilapidated condition. Some are stamped on the outside of the covers, 'De Bibliotheca Annapolitana'; others, 'Sub Auspiciis Wilhelmi III.' The greater portion have no stamp, book-plate, or writing of any sort to show from what collection they came."²

Good specimens of books which belonged to Parochial Libraries can be found in the Protestant Episcopal Library in Baltimore, which was founded by the magnificent library collected by the late Bishop Whittingham, of Maryland, whose daughter is now the appropriate librarian. Miss Whittingham keeps the library open from 9 until 4 every week-day, permitting free consultation and giving full advice respecting the 20,000 dear and familiar books, which she knew when a child as her father's friends.

¹ Gambrall, "Church Life in Colonial Maryland," pp. 91, 92.

² "Libraries in the United States of America," p. 36.

DANTE'S THEOLOGY.

DANTE'S THEOLOGY.¹

BY REV. PHILIP SCHAFF, DD., LL.D.,

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The *Divina Commedia*, that "sacred poem"—

"To which both heaven and earth have set their hand,"

has an equal attraction for the poet, the historian, the philosopher, and the theologian. It is a mirror of mediæval Christianity and civilization, and resembles a Gothic cathedral which lays all sciences and arts under contribution and fills the mind with wonder and awe. It has justly been called "the mediæval miracle of song." No poem can be compared with it for general and abiding interest except the Book of Job, and Goethe's Faust.

Dante is emphatically a theological poet, and has always had a special charm for theologians of all schools and parties. He is the Poet among divines and the Divine among poets. As he stands between Homer and Virgil on the Parnassus, so does he also between St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventura before the altar of the holy mystery. His theology and his relation to modern Christianity and civilization have been the subject of considerable dispute. Roman Catholics, evangelical Protestants, and political Liberals have claimed him as their own. Three views may be distinguished.

1. He was an orthodox Catholic. This is held by the great majority of Dante-scholars, especially Giuliani, Ozanam, Artaud de Montor, Boissard, Philalethes, Wegele, Gietmann,

¹ In his unwritten address before the American Society of Church History, Dr. Schaff gave a brief survey of Dante's journey through the *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*, and explained the spiritual and perpetual meaning of that "mystic, unfathomable song." He has elaborated two essays on the Life and Works of Dante, which are too long for this volume, but will appear in a book on *Literature and Poetry* (to be published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1890.)

Hettinger. But the most orthodox Catholics cannot deny Dante's fearless opposition to the popes of his age, nor can they accept his politics.

2. He was a forerunner of Protestantism. Matthias Flacius the first Lutheran Church historian, numbers him among his four hundred and twenty "Witnesses of the Evangelical Truth" in the Dark Ages, *i. e.*, among the Lutherans before Luther, as he regarded them, and quotes some passages from the *Commedia* and the book *De Monarchia* which bear on the corruptions of the Roman Church. Thirty years afterwards (1586) a French nobleman, François Perot de Mezières, endeavored to gain the Italians for the Reformation by means of the *Commedia*. Another Frenchman, Philippe de Mornay du Plessy Marly, the most accomplished and influential controversialist and diplomat among the Huguenots of his age, led Dante into the field against popery, in a work on the "Mystery of Iniquity" (1611). The controversy has been renewed in our century by Goeschel and Karl Graul, who claim Dante as a Reformer before the Reformation. Some have even found, anagrammatically, the name of Luther (*Lutero*) in the Greyhound (*Veltro*) whom Dante prophesied as a future reformer, but by whom he undoubtedly meant his patron, Can Grande della Scala of Verona, the head of the Ghibelline party in Lombardy and vicar of the German Emperor Henry VII.

3. He was a heretic in disguise, and even a revolutionist and socialist, in league with widespread anti-papal and anti-catholic societies for the overthrow of Church and State. He was a master of the symbolic language of the Templars, used for their destructive aims, a friend of the Albigenses, a Provençal mocker, a worshipper of classical heathenism, a pantheist, an infidel, a Voltaire in the fourteenth century. This strange theory was first proposed by Gabriele Rossetti, an Italian patriot, in an anti-catholic spirit, 1832, and afterwards (1854) in a modified form by Aroux, an orthodox catholic, and a translator of the *Commedia*.

The third theory must be dismissed as a radical misunderstanding and an ingenious absurdity. The first is essentially

correct, but there is also an element of truth in the second theory. Dante was a sincere and earnest Catholic of the mediæval, but not of the modern ultramontane type. He belonged to the party of progress which demanded a reformation of the Church, especially of the papacy; and in this respect we may regard him as a prophet of a purer form of Christianity.

We can, of course, only judge from what he actually believed and taught, not from what he might have believed in another age and under other conditions. But judging him from the spirit of his works he would have advocated the cause of truth and righteousness, of progress and moral reform, in any subsequent age.

He would have thoroughly sympathized with Savonarola, the stern monk, prophet, and reform preacher, in opposition to the frivolity of Florence, and the wickedness of Pope Alexander VI., who demanded his execution at the stake. He would have gone half-way with Luther, in his war against the shameful traffic in indulgences, and the corruptions of the papacy, but no further. In the year 1870 he would have opposed, with Döllinger and the Old Catholics, the two Vatican dogmas of papal infallibility and papal absolutism. In politics he, the Italian of Italians, and the idol of Italian patriots, would have hailed the national movement for the union and independence of Italy, the destruction of the temporal power of the papacy, and the separation of Church and State, or the triumph of Cavour's principle of a Free Church in a Free State.

But we must not identify him with Protestantism in any of its systems of doctrine or Church polity. He probably even to-day would look forward to an ideal Catholicism of the future and prophesy the coming of another *Veltro* and *Dux*, who would restore a universal church and a universal empire in friendly independence and confederation for the spiritual and temporal welfare of mankind.

We cannot find in his writings any distinctively Protestant principles, such as the supremacy of the Scriptures over traditions, justification by faith alone, or the general

priesthood of the laity. He is full of Scripture facts and Scripture doctrines, but throughout assumes that the teaching of the Church is in harmony with them; he believes in salvation by the grace of God and the atoning sacrifice of Christ, but demands good works and crowns them with reward; he teaches the divine origin and independence of the State, but expects the German emperor to be in communion with the Roman Church. In all essential doctrines which distinguish the Protestant from the Roman Catholic system he stands on the Roman Catholic side.

The same may be said of Savonarola, who has so often been misrepresented as a forerunner of Luther.

Dante is the poet of mediæval Catholicism. His poetry reflects the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bernard, that is, orthodox scholasticism and orthodox mysticism combined. The *Commedia* is a poetic transfiguration of mediæval theology and piety. He worked into it all the subtleties of scholastic speculation and all the warmth of mystic devotion to the very height of the beatific vision. He is a strong believer in the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation and all the articles of the œcumenical faith from creation to life everlasting. He clothes these truths in the shining garb of poetic beauty, and impresses them all the more deeply on the mind and heart. To a devout student the *Divina Commedia* is a powerful sermon accompanied by solemn organ music. Neither Milton, nor Klopstock, nor any other poet, Catholic or Protestant, can equal him in the poetic vindication and glorification of our common Christian faith.

In connection with this faith, Dante held also those mediæval doctrines which the Protestant Reformers, wisely or unwisely, rejected on account of their abuse, as the doctrines of Purgatory, the worship of saints, and the divine foundation of the papacy. Purgatory with its expiatory penances is one of the three divisions of his poem. The intercession of the saints in behalf of the living and the petitions of the living for that intercession run through the whole, and culminate in that wonderful prayer of St. Bernard

to the holy Virgin Mother who is enthroned in Paradise as the Queen of Saints. He assumes throughout the closest communion between the militant and triumphant Church. Beatrice, Lucia, and Matilda are interested in his salvation and act under the inspiration of Mary. But as a follower of St. Bernard, he must have disapproved of the belief in her immaculate conception which then began to be advocated in the form of a special festival in France. He peoples heaven with orthodox saints, and excludes from it all impurity and heresy, and even all the unbaptized. He puts heretics in the sixth circle of the *Inferno*. He believes in the supremacy of Peter as the prince of the Apostles and founder of the Roman Church, who "keeps the keys," and examines and instructs him in the faith. He regards the Pope as Peter's successor and as the vicar of Christ. He knows only one Church, and condemns schism even more than heresy.

But here his connection with the Roman Catholic Church stops. It remains for us to consider his reformatory or Protestant element, if we may so call it.

DANTE'S RELATION TO THE PAPACY AND THE REFORMATION.

Dante is a most earnest and consistent advocate of a moral (not doctrinal) reformation in Church and State, especially of the papacy. He urges and predicts such a reformation in the head and the members again and again in all parts of his poem and in a variety of images. The very last words of his beloved Beatrice in Paradise are a condemnation of the Popes Boniface VIII. and Clement V., who shall be thrust down

"Where Simon Magus is for his deserts."

The key to his position is his prediction of the Greyhound (*Veltro*) and Leader (*Dux*), who should bring about such a reformation, and the political theory of his book on the Empire (*De Monarchia*), which was condemned by the Council of Trent.

He treats the popes with the same stern impartiality as emperors, kings, and private persons, according to their moral merits. He respects the office, but condemns those who disgraced it, in such a fearless manner as would not be tolerated in the Roman Church of the present day. He mentions indeed several popes and cardinals among the blessed in heaven, as Gregory I. and Agapetus, but none of them is assigned so high a position as the great doctors of the Church and founders of monastic orders. He ignores Gregory VII., the greatest of the popes, probably because of his quarrel with the emperor. Innocent III. is barely mentioned. He met two popes among the penitents in Purgatory, namely, Adrian V. who sits among the avaricious in the fifth circle, but was pope only thirty-nine days (d. 1276), and Martin IV., who suffers among the gluttons, because his fondness for eels from the lake of Bolsena in the Papal States and the vernaccia wine, brought his life to a sudden close (1285). He saw a multitude of avaricious popes and cardinals in the fourth circle of Hell, which is guarded by Plutus as their jailer. He condemns a heretical pope, Anastasius II. (496). He is most severe on the simoniacal popes who are already, or will soon be, tormented in the eighth circle, notably Nicholas III. (d. 1281), Boniface VIII. (d. 1303), and Clement V. (d. 1314). The last two were still living when the *Commedia* was begun (1300), but Nicholas, with the foresight of disembodied spirits, knew that they were coming, and wondered only that they should come so soon and not tarry longer with their golden idols on earth.

The pope whom he most severely condemns and pursues a dozen times in all parts of his poem with fiery indignation and almost personal animosity, is Pope Boniface VIII. He regarded him as the chief author of his exile and all his misfortune, and as the worst of Simoniacs.

Boniface was a man of great learning, ability, and energy, but violent, cruel, ambitious, avaricious, and utterly unscrupulous. He scared the humble Cœlestin V. into a resignation, which was never before heard of in the history

of the papacy, shut him up in a castle, bought the papal crown, created two of his very young nephews cardinals, appointed twenty bishops and archbishops from among his relatives and friends, and left them enormous sums of money. He made war upon the powerful family of the Colonnas and confiscated their vast possessions. He introduced the first papal jubilee with its abuses in the very year in which Dante began the *Commedia*. He carried the system of papal absolutism to the utmost extreme of audacity and pretension, and claimed in the bulla *Unam Sanctam* (1302) the highest temporal as well as ecclesiastical power on earth. A commission of investigation after his death, composed of Italians and Frenchmen well acquainted with him, charged him with the worst of crimes and even with infidelity. His haughty reign ended in humiliation, insult, and grief,—the opposite of the scene at Canossa. The public opinion of his contemporaries is expressed in the sentence: "He entered like a fox, he reigned like a lion, he died like a dog."

Dante and Boniface were political, ecclesiastical, and moral antipodes, but the poor exile triumphed over the mighty pope in the judgment of posterity. Dante called his antagonist the prince of modern Pharisees, a usurper of the papal chair, who bought and then abused the Church, and turned the cemetery of St. Peter, the Vatican Hill, into a common sewer of corruption.

Nevertheless he justly condemns with the same impartiality Philip the Fair of France, that "modern Pilate," for his cruel treatment of the aged pope at Anagni. He distinguished between the chair of Peter and "him who sits there and degenerates."

Dante was an ideal imperialist in direct opposition to the papal absolutism of Boniface. He believed in the unity of empire with two independent heads in amicable relation: the Roman pope as the spiritual ruler, the German Roman emperor as the secular ruler. Church and State are both divine institutions, the one for the eternal, the other for the temporal welfare of mankind. He borrowed his theory

from the ante-Nicene period, but substituted a Christian for a heathen emperor. We may say that he anticipated the American theory of a friendly separation of Church and State, yet with this important difference, that he had in mind one Catholic Church instead of a number of denominations, and one Roman empire instead of a federal republic. The two powers should remain separate and distinct. A mixture of the two and a supremacy of one over the other (either in the form of the papal theocracy, or in the form of *cæsaro-papacy*) is a source of evil, of friction and war. There are two suns which give light to the world, the pope and the emperor. The State must not be degraded to a mere moon that borrows her light from the one sun, as is done in the Hildebrandian system.

“ Rome, that reformed the world, accustomed was
Two suns to have, which one road and the other,
Of God and of the world, made manifest.
One has the other quenched, and to the crosier
The sword is joined, and ill beseemeth it
That by main force one with the other go,
Because, being joined, one feareth not the other.”

Dante derived with the common opinion of the Middle Ages the temporal power of the pope from the fictitious donation of Constantine to Sylvester I., and repeatedly alludes to this fatal gift, which was well meant but “ bore bad fruit.”

“ Ah, Constantine ! of how much woe was mother,
Not thy conversion, but that marriage-dower
Which the first wealthy Father took from thee !”

He believed that the gift, if ever made, was unlawful, although it is incorporated in the canon law (the *Decretum Gratiani*). How would he have rejoiced if he could have seen the book of the Roman critic and humanist Laurentius Valla (Lorenzo della Valle, d. 1457), who proved beyond contradiction that the donation of Constantine was nothing but a hierarchical fable.

The principal evil which resulted from the temporal power of the pope and his connection with all the political quarrels and intrigues of the age, was simony, or the sin of Simon Magus, who wished to buy the Holy Ghost for lucrative purposes and incurred the fearful rebuke of St. Peter. "Thy silver perish with thee, because thou hast thought to obtain the gift of God with money. Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter: for thy heart is not right before God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray the Lord, if perhaps the thought of thy heart shall be forgiven thee. For I see that thou art in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity" (Acts viii.: 20-23). This passage is the text of Dante's invectives against the popes who made themselves guilty of the same sin and incurred double guilt on account of their exalted position as successors of St. Peter, and the incalculable influence of their bad example upon clergy, monks, and laity. It is notorious that many popes made merchandise of holy things, bought the papal crown, sold cardinals' hats and bishops' mitres, and perverted the property of the Church for the enrichment of their nephews and other members of their families. Nearly all the rich palaces of Roman nobles, with their picture galleries and treasures of art, owe their origin to papal nepotism. The worst period of the papacy was that of the so-called pornocracy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, which cannot be mentioned without humiliation and shame. It was then that the German emperors had to interfere and to depose those wicked popes, the paramours and bastards of some bold, bad Roman women. Henry VII., at the synod of Sutri (1046), deposed three rival popes, all simonists, and elected the worthy Bishop Bruno of Toul in their place (1048), as Leo IX., the first reforming pope under the direction of Hildebrand, who himself succeeded to the papal chair as Gregory VII. (1073), and made war upon simony, but as well also upon sacerdotal marriage, and the power of the emperor. With all his zeal against simony, Gregory could not prevent his successors from relapsing into the same sin.

Dante condemns the simonists to the eighth circle of Hell, where they are turned upside down with their heads in a narrow hole and their feet and legs standing out and burning—a fit punishment for perverting the proper order of things by putting the material above the spiritual, and money above religion. The greatest sufferers in this pit are the simoniacal popes. The corruption of the Roman court contaminated the higher and lower clergy and the whole Church.

Dante looked to Germany for a reformation of the Church and a restoration of the Empire, but he was doomed to disappointment in the hope he set on Henry VII., and Can Grande of Verona, his vicar in Lombardy. In the meantime, after the death of Boniface, the papacy had been transferred to Avignon, and became subservient to the French monarchs. Then followed the scandalous papal schism, the reformatory councils, the restoration and renewed corruption of the papal power. At last the reformation came from Germany, but not from an emperor, and in a much more radical form than the poet dreamed of.

DANTE AND THE JOACHIMITES.

Dante stood not alone in his attitude to the papacy. There runs through all the Middle Ages a protest against the abuses in the Church and a desire for a reformation which grew stronger and stronger and ultimately culminated in the mighty religious revolution of the sixteenth century.

Before him and during his lifetime there was a considerable commotion in the Franciscan order with which he was in sympathy. Tradition connects him with this order. He was buried in the Franciscan church at Ravenna. His daughter Beatrice was a nun in a Franciscan convent of that city. He fully appreciated the monastic principle of apostolic poverty, and considered wealth and temporal power a curse to the clergy. He puts into the mouth of Thomas Aquinas, who was a Dominican, a high eulogy of St. Francis of Assisi; while Bonaventura, a Franciscan, in

the spirit of true brotherhood, without envy and jealousy, celebrates the life and deeds of St. Dominic. He assigns one of the uppermost places in the Rose of the Blessed to St. Francis, the most childlike, the most amiable, and the most poetic monk of the Middle Ages, the sympathizing friend of all God's creatures, whose highest aim and crowning glory was transformation into the image of the Saviour, who married Christ's poverty and dying left the care of this his "lady-love" (*la sua donna più cara*) to every one of his disciples. Dante, who was probably familiar with Bonaventura's life of the saint, thus tersely describes his character:

" On the rough rock 'twixt Tiber's and Arno's plain,
From Christ received he the last seal's impress,
Which he two years did in his limbs sustain.

When it pleased Him, who chose him thus to bless
To lead him up the high reward to share
Which he had merited by lowliness,

Then to his brothers, each as rightful heir,
He gave in charge his lady-love most dear,
And bade them love her with a steadfast care."

At the same time he complains of the departure of the Franciscans from the apostolic simplicity of their founder, and makes like complaint of the degeneracy of the Dominican order. He sympathized with the puritanical or spiritual party of the Joachimites, and with the reform movement which agitated the Franciscan order from the middle of the thirteenth century. He esteemed Joachim of Flore, or Fiore, who gave the first impulse to the movement, as a true prophet and assigned him a high place in Paradise with Rabanus Maurus, Dominic, Bonaventura, Chrysostom, and Anselm.

" Here is Rabanus, and beside me here
Shines the Calabrian Abbot Joachim,
He with the spirit of prophecy endowed."

Joachim was a prophet in the same sense as Dante was a prophet. He roused the conscience, he reproved wickedness, he predicted a better future, like the Hebrew prophets. A brief notice of this remarkable man and his school may not be out of place here. For fuller information about him and "the Everlasting Gospel" so called, I may refer to Wadding, Neander, Döllinger, Engelhardt, Hahn, Renan, Preger, Reuter, and the documents recently published by Denifle and Ehrle in their *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* (1885).

Joachim was abbot of a Cistercian convent at Flore, or Fiore, in Calabria, an older contemporary of St. Francis of Assisi (Renan calls him his Baptist), and like him an enthusiast for entire conformity to Christ in spirit and outward condition. He made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, fasted forty days on Mount Sinai, led a life of self-denial and devotion to his fellow-men, studied with special zeal the prophetic portions of the Scriptures, opposed the worldliness and earthly possessions, simony, nepotism, and avarice of the clergy, and predicted a reformation. He died about 1202. He was revered by the people as a wonder-working prophet and saint. Neander says of him: "Grief over the corruption of the Church, longing desire for better times, profound Christian feeling, a meditative mind, and a glowing imagination, such are the peculiar characteristics of his spirit and of his writings."

Joachim wrote three works: "The Harmony of the Old and New Testament"; "Exposition of the Apocalypse"; "Psalter of Ten Chords." To the last are attached two hymns of Paradise, the second of which was, as Renan conjectures, one of the sources of Dante's *Commedia*. Several other works of uncertain authorship, especially commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah, were also ascribed to him.

He wished to be orthodox and remained in the communion of the Catholic Church, but his apocalyptic opinions could easily lead astray and be utilized for heretical purposes. After his death he was condemned by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) for tritheism. He gave great offence by his

attacks on the papacy and his prediction of "The Everlasting Gospel."

An older contemporary, St. Hildegard, abbess of the Rupert convent near Bingen on the Rhine (b. 1098, d. 1197), took a similar position on the church question, and was generally revered as a prophetess. Pope Eugene III. and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, while preaching the second crusade in Germany, recognized her divine mission, and persons of all ranks flocked to her for advice, intercession, consolation, and light on the future.

Joachim attacked as severely as Dante the corruption of the papacy of his time, although it was better represented in the early than in the latter part of the thirteenth century. He, too, traced the decay of morals and discipline to the temporal power and the love of money, which is "a root of all kinds of evil" (1 Tim. vi. : 10). He complains of the exactions of the Roman curia. "The whole world is polluted with this evil. There is no city nor village where the Church does not push her benefices, collect her revenues. Everywhere she will have prebends, endless incomes. O God, how long dost thou delay to avenge the blood of the innocent which cries to thee from beneath the altar of the Roman capitol!" He condemns indulgences dispensed from Rome, and rebukes the proud and carnal cardinals and bishops who seek their own instead of the things of Christ. He often compares the Roman Church with the Babylon and the harlot of the Apocalypse, who commits fornication with the kings of the earth, and he predicts that the last and worst Antichrist will sit in the temple of God and the chair of Peter, and exalt himself above all that is called God. He agreed with Hildegard in announcing a terrible judgment and consequent purification and transformation of the Church and the papacy.

He divided the history of the world into three periods, which correspond to the persons of the Holy Trinity, the three leading Apostles—Peter, Paul, and John, and the three Christian graces—faith, hope, love. The period of the Father extends from the creation to the incarnation;

the period of the Son to the year 1260; the period of the Holy Spirit to the end of the world. The first period is the period of the laity, the second that of the clergy, the third that of the spiritual monks under a *papa angelicus*. The first was ruled by the letter of the Old Testament; the second by the letter of the New Testament; the third will be ruled by the spirit of the New Testament, *i. e.*, the spiritual understanding of the Gospel of Christ (*spirituale evangelium Christi, spiritualis intelligentia Novi Testamenti*). This is "The Everlasting Gospel," to be proclaimed by the angel in the Apocalypse (Rev. xiv. : 6). It is not a written book, but a *donum Spiritus Sancti*, a *donum contemplationis*, and the order which is to proclaim it, is an *ecclesia contemplativa*, a *populus spiritualis*.

The last period is the period of love represented by the beloved disciple, the period of peace, the Sabbath which remains for the people of God. It will be preceded by a terrible conflict with the concentrated power of Antichrist in its last and most powerful form. Then will be fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah (xiii. : 9 *sqq.*), "when the day of Jehovah cometh with wrath and fierce anger to make the land a desolation and to destroy the sinners thereof, when the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not shine."

The three periods are also subdivided into seven sub-periods, corresponding to the days of creation and the Sabbath of rest.

These views are more fully developed in the doubtful, than in the three genuine, writings of Joachim, and are involved in mystical fog.

The views of Joachim were adopted, enlarged, and exaggerated after his death by the Joachimites, a branch of the Franciscans, who opposed the prevailing laxity which had crept into the order, and who insisted on the severe rule of the founder. They were called Spirituals (*Spirituales, Zelatores, Fraticelli*). They indulged in ascetic extravagances and apocalyptic fancies, vehemently opposed the worldliness of the clergy and monks, and became more and more anti-

papal and anti-churchly. Their war cry was "The Everlasting Gospel," which was to reform the Church and to convert the world.

Gerard, or Gherardino, of Borgo-San Donnino, a Franciscan monk, published at Paris, in 1254, a popular epitome of Joachim's prophetic and apocalyptic writings, with an Introduction (*Introductorius*), under the title "The Everlasting Gospel," and announced the near advent of the Era of the Holy Spirit, which would abrogate the economy of the Son or the New Testament, as the economy of the Son had abrogated the economy of the Father or the Old Testament. By the Everlasting Gospel he meant the three chief works of Joachim, which were to take the place of the New Testament, and to be the canon of the dispensation of the Holy Spirit.

The publication excited a great commotion in the University of Paris and throughout the Church. Pope Alexander IV. appointed a Commission of investigation at Anagni, where he then resided. The result was the condemnation of "The Everlasting Gospel" in 1255. Gherardino refused to recant, and was condemned to prison for life. He died there after eighteen years. The failure of the prophecy destroyed its effect after 1260 more effectually than the papal anathema. The expectations of the people were raised to the highest pitch in November of that year by a procession of the Flagellants of Perugia through Italy, but the year passed without ushering in the new era.

But the spirit of Joachim and Gerard revived in the party of the Spirituals and their successors, the Fraticelli. Their prophecies were renewed in modified forms, especially by Peter John de Oliva, who was styled Dr. Columbinus (the *columba*, or dove, being the symbol of the party, and of the Holy Spirit), and were published in a mystic commentary on the mysteries of the Apocalypse about 1290. History was now divided into seven periods. The sixth period was dated from St. Francis of Assisi (b. 1182), and extended to the time when the temporal power of the papacy, and with it

the general corruption of the world, would reach its height and hasten the Divine judgment on the carnal Church. Then would appear the true spiritual Church of the Holy Spirit, free from the poison of earthly possessions, and would convert the Jews and Gentiles.

From year to year the Spirituals waited for the advent of the seventh period, but waited in vain. They led a pure and austere life, according to the strict rule of their founder. They declined to recognize any pope since John XXII. (1316-1324), and were fearfully persecuted for more than a hundred years. The bones of de Oliva were dug up and burnt, and his writings were prohibited until Sixtus IV. (1471-1484), himself a Minorite, ordered a new investigation, which declared them orthodox.

The persecutions heightened the anti-papal spirit of the party, and matured the opinion that the papal chair was or might become for a season the very seat of Antichrist in the temple of God. This opinion was confirmed under Boniface VIII. by his audacious claim of supremacy over the whole world, his tyranny and immorality. It found expression in the writings of Giacopone da Todi, of the order of the Minorites, the author of the *Stabat Mater*, and in the *Commedia* of Dante, his younger contemporary. Giacopone was excommunicated and imprisoned by Boniface, but pronounced blessed by posterity. Dante was exiled by the Guelf government of Florence, under the influence of the same pope, but his exile gave the world the *Divina Commedia*.

Dante kept aloof from the ascetic extravagancies and apocalyptic fancies of the Joachimites and Spirituals. He had too much respect for Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, too much knowledge of theology, and too much taste for art to fall into such extremes. Besides, he had political aspirations which looked towards the restoration of the German Roman empire. But he agreed with the Joachimites in their warfare against the corrupt papacy of Boniface VIII., which he calls "a shameless whore firm as a rock seated on a mountain high," and in their zeal for a reformation of the Church in the head and members.

DANTE AND SCHELLING. THE THREE AGES OF CHURCH HISTORY.

In the confused rubbish of the prophetic and pseudo-prophetic writings of Joachim di Fiore, there are not a few grains of gold and fruitful germs of truth. His division of three ages of history corresponding to the three persons of the Trinity, and the three leading Apostles, is one of these fruitful germs.

A modern German philosopher, who was a profound student of Dante, has independently arrived at a somewhat similar, though far superior construction of the history of Christianity. I refer to the concluding chapters of Schelling's *Lectures on the Philosophy of Revelation*, which were delivered at the University of Berlin, in 1842, but not published in an authentic form till 1858. I heard his lectures, and learned from Schelling in a most interesting interview a few days before his death (which occurred at Ragatz, Switzerland, Aug. 20, 1854), that he derived great comfort from his theory of the three ages of the Church, but would supplement it by making room for the Apostle James, as the typical representative of the Oriental Church.

Schelling starts from the fact that Christ elected three favorite disciples—Peter, James, and John—to whom he gave new names (Rock, and Sons of Thunder), and whom he made sole witnesses of some of the most important events in his life. They correspond to Moses, the lawgiver; Elijah, the fiery prophet; and John the Baptist, who concluded the Old Dispensation by pointing to Christ.

Peter is the fundamental Apostle, the rock on which the Church was built, the Apostle of the Father, the Apostle of authority, the Apostle of law and stability, the type of Catholicism.

But the foundation of a building is only the beginning, and is followed by a succession, by a middle and end. These are represented by James and John, or rather by Paul and John. James died early, before he could fully develop his mission, and his place was filled by Paul, whom the Lord

had called before the martyrdom of James, and who is in the earliest seals of the popes associated with Peter as joint founder of the Roman Church.

Paul is the Elijah of the Church, who burst forth like a fire, and whose word burns like a torch. He is the Apostle of God the Son. He built on the foundation of Peter, yet independently, and even in opposition to him; for it is by contrasts (*δι' ἐναντίας*), not by uniformity, that the Spirit of God brings about the greatest results. He insists (in the Galatians) on his direct call by Christ, not by or through men, and at Antioch he openly withstood Peter and the Jewish pillar-apostles (*οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι*) when they demanded the circumcision of the Gentile Christians, and their subjection to the bondage of the law. Paul represents the principle of independence, motion, development, and freedom; he is the type of the Protestant Reformation, that revolt long prepared against the exclusive and tyrannical authority of Peter.

Whatever may be said against the Roman Church is foreshadowed in Peter, and is not concealed in the Gospels, least in that of Mark (which is Peter's Gospel). He, and he alone among the Apostles, took the sword, which is inseparable from an earthly kingdom, and the Roman Church wielded the sword, especially in the thirteenth century, against the heretics so-called, not only the New-Manichæans and Albigenses, but also against the Spirituals among the Franciscans, who perished in the flames of the stake by the thousands, and could find refuge only with the German emperor, Louis the Bavarian. It was among these that the opinion first arose that the pope was the veritable Antichrist and the beast of the Apocalypse. The same Peter, who was called the Rock of the Church, was soon afterwards called a Satan by our Saviour when he presumed to turn his Master away from the path of the cross. In the former character he was to be guided by Divine wisdom and power, in the latter he followed the instinct of worldly prudence. But Christ says: "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me." (Luke ix., 23.) The

three fold denial of Peter has likewise a typical significance. The Roman Church has denied Christ in three ways: first, by striving after political power, then by using the political power as executioner of her bloody decrees, and last by yielding herself as an instrument to the secular arm. But as Christ intrusted the same Peter who had thrice denied him, thrice with the feeding of his flock, so the Roman Church, in whose bosom so many holy members have uttered sighs and complaints over her corruptions, has not ceased to be a Church of Christ, and to hold fast to the foundation of the faith. Perhaps the time is not far distant when she will, with Peter, weep bitterly over her denial.

John is the Apostle of the Holy Spirit, the Apostle of the Future, the Apostle of Love, and represents the New Jerusalem from heaven, the truly catholic, ideal Church of the union of Catholicism and Protestantism. He alone speaks of the Spirit whom the Son will send from the Father, who proceeds from the Father, and who will guide the Church into the whole and perfect truth. His position is indicated in the mysterious prediction of Christ to Peter concerning John: "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" (John xxi., 22.) This was at an early time misunderstood to indicate that John was not to die, but the real meaning is that his mission would begin with the second advent, that is, in the last age of the Church. It has no reference to the existence of John, but to his work, which can only be accomplished after the exclusiveness of Peter is done away with, and the Church arrives at the unity of the one flock and one Shepherd. (John x., 16.)

The Church of St. Lateran in Rome has the first rank in the Catholic world, as the Latin inscription says: "*Sacro-sancta Lateranensis ecclesia, omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum mater et caput.*" The splendid temple of St. Peter, which was the proximate occasion for the Reformation, stands in the centre of the city of Rome. The Church of St. Paul, which burned down under Pius VII., and is not yet quite rebuilt, is outside of the walls. At some future time a church will be built for all three Apostles—a true pantheon of Church History.

This is a summary of Schelling's philosophy of Church History. It is, like all philosophical constructions which anticipate the future known only to God, more or less fanciful; but it is certainly grand and ingenious and involves a truth, which illuminates the past and gives hope for the future. It impresses itself indelibly upon the mind. I have it from the lips of such historians as the evangelical Neander and the catholic Döllinger, that they were in sympathy with it. The three chief Apostles and their work, the Jewish Christianity of Peter, the Gentile Christianity of Paul, the temporary collision of the two, and the final consolidation of both branches by John—anticipate and foreshadow the past and future development of Christ's kingdom on earth.

Dante likewise recognizes three typical Apostles who represent the three Christian graces, but he adheres to the original trio of Christ's first selection, and omits the Apostle Paul. He regards Peter as the Apostle of Faith, James the Elder (John's brother) as the Apostle of Hope, and John as the Apostle of Love. In Paradise he places Peter, as the keeper of the keys of the glorified Church, and John, as the seer of "the beautiful bride who with the spear and with the nails was won," next to the Queen of Paradise in the mystic Rose of the Blessed. He sees John (with an allusion to the legend of his sleep till the second advent) in the chariot of the Church as

"An aged man alone
Walking in sleep with countenance acute."

The difference as well as the harmony in the Catholic and Protestant estimate of the Apostles is characteristic. A Protestant would subordinate James to Paul, and co-ordinate Peter and Paul as Apostles of Faith, and joint Founders of the Church, the one among the Jews, the other among the Gentiles. Paul was not one of the Twelve, and does not fit into the regular succession, but he is of equal power and authority with them, and as to the abundance of labors he surpassed them all. He was soon thrown into the background in the early Church, as a sort of holy outsider and

dangerous innovator, and was never thoroughly appreciated till the time of the Reformation. Even such fathers as Origen, Chrysostom, and Jerome could not conceive it possible that he should have so boldly and sharply rebuked the older Apostle Peter at Antioch, and hence they perverted the scene into a theatrical farce or substituted an imaginary Peter for the historical Peter. Nor does the papal Church, in her official denunciations of Bible Societies, forget to quote Peter's words about the difficult matters in Paul's Epistles, and about the danger of "private interpretation" of the Scriptures.

But Joachim, Dante, and Schelling agree in the hopeful outlook toward a higher and purer age of the Church, and connect it with the name of the beloved Disciple, the bosom friend of Jesus, the seer of the new heavens and the new earth, the apostolic forerunner of an age of love, concord, and peace.

THE CORRUPTION OF CHRISTIANITY THROUGH
PAGANISM DURING THE FIRST TWO
CENTURIES.

THE CORRUPTION OF CHRISTIANITY THROUGH PAGANISM DURING THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—Desiring to bring this paper within the time assigned for reading, I have condensed it by grouping representative facts, rather than attempt an exhaustive treatise with full quotations and references. (Consult note, p. 86.)

Genuine "Higher Criticism" ought to be applied yet more to the first two centuries of Christian history, to unearth new material, and carefully analyze and classify that which we have. This should be done without polemic intent, and free from the perverting influences of controversy relating to Apostolic Succession, Dogmatic Theology, or Denominational History.

Church History is the record of a world-wide, time-filling, and veritable conflict between right and wrong, God and Satan. This conflict is neither described, explained, nor understood, by tabulating events, or constructing chronology. These are little more than straws, that float on the surface of a stream, compared with the influences which create the stream. History is related to ordinary events, as the life currents throbbing in the veins of the oak are related to the leaves which fringe its branches. These influences do not operate by chance, nor in irregular detachments. History is an organic and organific whole, a living entity, made up of reciprocal causes and effects. These deeper causative currents cannot be understood unless the whole field be surveyed, and the various stages of the conflict be noted and

compared. This involves the study of the changing methods by which Satan strives to thwart the progress of truth, and the work of man's redemption. Hence successful inquiry concerning the methods by which Christianity was assailed, at first, must be made in the light of the methods which Satan used previous to the time of Christ. This requires a glance at the most revolting facts in the history of pagan religions.

The sun-worship cult is the oldest and the most nearly universal form of paganism. Phallicism, including licentious worship in all its forms, was the lowest phase of that cult. This sanctified lust was the successful weapon which Satan used against God's ancient people. It corrupted the social and religious life of the Israelites more than all other influences. It lured them from loyalty to Jehovah and made them devotees of Baal and Ashtoreth, until the shrines of sanctified lust crowned every hill-top, and nameless symbols were set up in the temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem. The prominent method of warfare pursued by Satan previous to the time of Christ was along the line of man's animal nature; it was sanctified lust; impurity in the name of religion. His aim was not so much to oppose Jehovah worship, openly, as to corrupt it. Christ came when the world was grovelling thus in impurity, groping in the darkness of human philosophy, and moaning in spiritual hunger. His teachings, and the spiritual kingdom which he inaugurated, were far more than a protest against the formalism and the errors of Judaism. The attitude of the world's spiritual battle-field was everywhere changed by his coming. His Gospel revealed the only radical cure for sin, the only safeguard against the evils which had corrupted the pagan world, and so nearly destroyed the Jewish Church.

Fearing that Christ's coming heralded his overthrow, Satan rushed into a personal encounter, eager to defeat, through temptation, him with whom he could not cope in open battle. Vanquished in the wilderness, Satan resumed his former tactics, and sought by indirection that which he could not gain by assault. History shows that Satan's campaign embraced three vital lines of operation:

(A) The modification or destruction of the authority of the Old Testament, and the perversion of the New.

(B) The corrupting of Christianity by a false standard of Church membership.

(C) The perversion of organized Christianity through union with the state.

In keeping with this policy we find the following facts:

Pagan influence minimized or destroyed the authority of the Old Testament.

The Christ of the New Testament is the Messiah of the Old. The two dispensations are different methods of administering God's government, but not antagonistic. The Christian dispensation was the spiritual efflorescence of the Jewish. It grew from it as the lily from the bulb. We must therefore look outside of Christianity for the early opposition to Judaism and the Old Testament.

Gnosticism, as an all-embracing term, is the best name for the philosophico-religious influences which gradually undermined the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures and seriously corrupted the New Testament by false interpretation. This use of the term must not be confounded with the more common one, which applies the name Gnostic to certain heretical sects of later times. The system existed long before the name became current; before the time of Christ. It was the product of Oriental Dualism, in the ever-recurring effort to harmonize the conflict between spirit and matter. It mingled with Jewish, Egyptian, and Grecian thought, modifying and being modified by each. Its attitude toward the Hebrew Scriptures was always antagonistic. It taught that the creator of this world, the God of the Jews, and the Author of the Old Testament, was inferior to Christ; that he could produce nothing which was essentially good; that matter was evil; that all revelation from the God of the Old Testament was imperfect, and ephemeral; that Satan could overcome him; that Christ came to destroy his works, and supersede his kingdom.

Paul was battling Gnostic narrowness, as well as Jewish exclusiveness, when he taught that Jehovah "is the God of the Gentiles also." The recognition of this Gnostic element

in New Testament history throws much light upon that period, especially upon the Epistles. The opening of the Fourth Gospel cannot be understood, except we see in it the exaltation of Christ, the true LOGOS, in contrast with the logos theories of Gnosticism. The Epistles contain many warnings against this pagan error. Paul was quite as anxious to save his converts from the "lawlessness" of Gnosticism, as from the ceremonialism of the Jews. "The mystery of iniquity," the "Antichrist," of which Paul prophesied, and against which he warned those who were most endangered by it, through Grecian influences, was Gnosticism.

Dr. Schaff describes it most aptly, as follows:

"The opposite extreme is a false Gentile Christianity; which may be called the *Paganizing* or *Gnostic* heresy. It is as radical and revolutionary as the other is contracted and reactionary. It violently breaks away from the past, while the Judaizing heresies tenaciously and stubbornly cling to it as permanently binding. It exaggerates the Pauline view of the distinction of Christianity from Judaism, sunders Christianity from its historical basis, resolves the real humanity of the Saviour into a Doketistic illusion, and perverts the freedom of the Gospel into Antinomian licentiousness. The author, or first representative of this baptized heathenism, according to the uniform testimony of Christian antiquity, is Simon Magus, who unquestionably adulterated Christianity with pagan ideas and practices, and gave himself out, in pantheistic style for an emanation of God. Plain traces of this error appear in the later Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Timothy, and to Titus, the second Epistle of Peter, the first two Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the messages of the Apocalypse to the seven churches."—"Church History," vol. i., p. 566; N. Y., 1882.

Under the prevailing syncretic tendency, Gnosticism permeated all forms of religious thought as by a chemical union. Unhappily it was not an isolated system, with repelling barriers. It prepared the way for the speculative theology of the Greek Fathers, and for the later Gnostic

sects. Much of the difference between this speculative theology and Gnosticism was in degree, rather than in kind; while Neo-Platonism, compounded from Oriental and Occidental paganism, and rejecting Judaism, was especially fitted to corrupt Christianity. By rejecting or allegorizing the Old Testament, and by allegorizing the New, Gnosticism weakened the only basis for conscience towards God, and removed the only safe ground for practical morality. Its spiritual pride destroyed the consciousness of sin, and its frivolous Antinomianism removed condemnation therefor. This wounded New Testament Christianity in a vital point—the point enunciated by Paul when he said, "Where there is no law there is no sin." The opening chapters of Romans are a bugle-blast against Gnostic Antinomianism, and its consequent wickedness.

The Greek Fathers came to Christianity by way of Neo-Platonism, more than by the New Testament. They accepted it, not as the one and only authoritative system, but as one to be blended with others by liberal syncretism. The Greek language brought Christianity into constant contact with Grecian thought, which was corrupted by countless currents of decaying paganism. The glory of Greece had faded when Christianity was born. Internal corruption had buried civil liberty. Philosophy had fallen to the level of superstition. The higher type of the ancient religion of Greece had yielded to unbelief and low materialism. Vice and immorality abounded among all classes, not least that licentiousness which had its source in the older Phallicism of which we have spoken. Justin Martyr taught that the Old Testament prophesied its own dissolution; that it was imperfect, ephemeral, belonging to the Jews only; that the law did not exist before Moses, and was not binding after Christ; that the decalogue was to be kept only in an accommodative sense; that pagan philosophy contained much truth; that Platonism was closely allied to Christianity, etc. Justin represents the dominant theory-making influences of his own and subsequent times. Gnosticism was a prominent factor in formulating much that has come down to us as Christian doctrine.

Allegorical Interpretation.

An equally fundamental error, and one destructive to the Scriptures, was the allegorical method of interpreting them. Theoretically, Gnosticism involved a more spiritual religion than that which was set forth in its popular statements and ceremonies. This deeper knowledge constituted the "Mysteries" which only the "initiated" could understand. The Kabbalists applied this theory by claiming to draw from the Old Testament a hidden meaning which had been handed down as a "secret tradition." The allegorical system of interpretation was developed pre-eminently at Alexandria and Ephesus. Through it the Scriptures were subordinated to the GNOSIS, which each "true Gnostic" claimed for himself. Critical exegesis was rare, or wholly unknown. Misquotation of the text abounded, while the infiltration of pagan philosophy, under the plea of allegory, obscured the truth and subordinated the authority of the divine word. This opened the way and compelled the exaltation of Church authority and tradition over the Bible. The ruin which has followed this result is known to every student of Church history. It alone made possible the Papal theory concerning the Scriptures, and concerning the relation of the historic Church to individual salvation.

Baptism and Church Membership.

The purposes of Satan were by no means fulfilled when the Old Testament was shorn of authority and the New made subservient to his wishes through allegorizing. Christianity must also be perverted as to its organization and practical development. The New Testament made baptism the prerequisite to Church membership, because it was the outward sign of an inward renewal unto eternal life. Baptism thus guarded the Church against the unworthy, and was the sign of consecration to those who had truly entered the spiritual kingdom of Christ. Satan saw that the battle would go against him if only the truly converted were allowed to enter the visible Church. Paganism furnished abundant

material for corrupting Christianity by a false standard of Church membership. The pagan water-worship cultus had two phases.

(A) Water as an object of worship.

(B) Water applied in religious ceremony, to produce spiritual cleansing.

Both these phases appear in history until the investigator is lost in the shadows of the pre-historic period.

The limits of this paper permit only a brief summary and a comparison between the pagan cult and the perverted theories which found acceptance in the early Church. The native home of pagan water-worship was probably in the East, though it appears in all quarters and on both continents. The baptism of Egypt was known as the "Waters of Purification." In Egypt and in Peru it was believed that water so used cleansed the soul absolutely, and the person was said to be "regenerated." The water was holy, and the place was known, as it was afterwards by Christians, as the "Holy Bath." The early Christians called it being "brought anew into the world." The pagans gave a new name at baptism, which custom was afterwards followed by Christians. Among the Greeks the revolting mysteries of Cotys, the Thracian goddess, commenced with a purification, a sort of baptism, and hence her priests we called *Βάπται*. But Apollo, from a supposed derivation of his name from *ἀπολούω*, was the special god of expiation by baptismal acts. The Thessalians annually celebrated a great festival of cleansing. A work bearing the name of Musæus was a complete ritual of purifications. It distinguished the ceremonies into two orders, *τελεταί* and *καθαρμοί*. The latter were purifications and expiations accomplished by special sacrifices. The former resembled the purifications performed in the mysteries. The usual mode of purification was dipping into water, or it was performed by aspersion. The baptism of immersion was called *λουτρόν*; of aspersion, *περίρρανσις*. These baptisms were held to have virtue independent of the disposition of the candidate, an opinion which called forth the sneer of Diogenes, when he saw one undergoing bap-

tism by aspersion : " Poor wretch," said he, " do you not see that, since the sprinkling cannot repair your grammatical errors, it cannot repair either the faults of your life." Lustral water was placed at the temple doors, and the profane were purified by it, by the priests, before entering. That this is the origin of " Holy Water " in the Romish Church is too well known to need comment. Usually, before entering a temple, the hands and feet were washed. In default of water, sand was used ; and salt, as a symbol of incorruption, was regarded as having purifactory virtues. Every impure act demanded purification. In like manner baptism was practised by the Romans, and Juvenal satirizes those who sought to wash away their sins by dipping the head thrice in the water of the Tiber. On the feast of Pallas, the Goddess of Flocks, the shepherds purified themselves by washing their hands thrice in new-fallen dew, or a lustration was effected by aspersion with consecrated water shaken from a branch of laurel or olive.

India has many sacred streams, but the water of the Ganges is thought to have special power to purify. New-born children are bathed in it, the sick are sprinkled with it, the dead are plunged in it. Drinking of that water washes away sin ; therefore the Indians take it with them to their houses, and use it in the ceremonies of their temples. The devout Hindu believes that there is no sin so heinous, no character so black with guilt, but that the waters of the Ganges will cleanse it to snow-like whiteness. This cult is associated with modern Phallicism in India ; and at the many Phallic shrines in and around the sacred city of Benares the nameless symbols are deluged with sacred water brought by devout worshippers. In Egypt it was held that the dead were washed from their sins by Osiris in the land of shades ; and on the sarcophagi the departed one is often represented kneeling before Osiris, who pours water over him. Among the Scandinavians infant baptism was in vogue long before the introduction of Christianity, and the rite accompanied the naming of the child. Before the performance of this rite the " exposition " of the child was lawful, but after bap-

tism it was murder. Dipping in water and aspersion with water, or with the blood of a victim, was customary among the Druids, as was also the baptism of fire, probably borrowed by them from the Phœnicians. There are many points where water-worship and sun-worship mingled, as in the lighted torch, used in preparing "Holy Water," a practice which still remains in the Roman Catholic Church. Among the Mexicans, while the new-born child was bathed, the nurse said: "May this bath cleanse thee of the impurity contracted in thy mother's womb; may it purify thy heart, and procure for thee a good and honorable life. May the unseen God descend upon this water, and free thee from all evil and pollution, and from all ill luck." The pagan faith in water as a cleansing agency arose from the idea that it was permeated by the divine essence, and hence had a supernatural power to remove guilt. With the pagan world trained in such a faith concerning water, such a theory of baptismal regeneration, Satan stood ready to flood New Testament Christianity with this false doctrine, and to fill the Church with baptized pagans.

Turning to the early Fathers, we find fanciful, exuberant, and sometimes contradictory language, but their theories concerning baptism follow the pagan idea that water produces spiritual purity. Forgiveness of sins, imparted righteousness, spiritual illumination, and eternal life come through baptism. They attempt some mingling of New Testament truth by referring to certain passages of Scripture, but genuine exegesis gives no support to their theories. It is not needful that Hermas, Barnabas, and Tertullian be quoted in this connection. Thus it came to pass that great importance was attached to baptism, and elaborate ceremonies, drawn from pagan sources, grew up around it. Among these were preparation, as for the "mysteries": facing westward and eastward; exorcism and consecration of the water; exorcism and insufflation of the candidate; anointing; the sign of the cross; the use of salt; the use of spittle, which was a pagan "charm" against evil; etc. Hence, also, came the practice of delaying baptism until near the close of life, in order to

make the most of both worlds; and, not least, as a dangerous and persistent corruption, the doctrine of penance to atone for sins committed after baptism. Even the more nearly correct theories of Augustine, in later time, could not overcome these evils, when the Church had become filled with "baptized pagans." Under such theories the masses came to look upon baptism as a sort of magical charm which cleansed from sin, and made the recipient an heir of everlasting life. What is here said is not put forth as a criticism upon the doctrine of "baptismal regeneration," as now held among Protestants, in which the work of Christ is set forth more or less prominently as the ground of regeneration.

Concluding, it is pertinent to say that the most important features of the baptismal question do not appear in the superficial, polemic utterances concerning "modes." These often do little more than show how long men can sail the sea of controversy upon fanciful interpretations, or how far they can float upon the splinter of a Greek accent. But New Testament Christianity was wounded in a vital point when men trained in pagan philosophies became leaders in the Church, and taught baptismal regeneration regardless of the spiritual state of the candidate. The fruit of the error did not develop at once; it increased and ripened for centuries, but it existed in germ and bud, and moulded Western Christianity before the close of the second century. It was the source of the Roman Catholic doctrine of baptism as it now exists.

The two points briefly and imperfectly treated above, have an important relation to the present and future of Christian history. The Protestant movement was the uprising of modern Christianity against the pagan elements as represented in the Roman Catholic Church. The separation from Rome was by no means absolute. The movement has not been uniformly progressive along the line of fundamental differences between New Testament Christianity and the pagan corruptions. Gnostic-born Antinomianism, often under the guise of "Christian liberty," yet poisons theology and corrupts practical life. It is now, as always, the foe of sound

doctrine and good morals. The false idea that baptism, or Church membership through baptism, insures entrance to heaven, yet acts as an upas breath on personal holiness, growth in grace, and devoted service. High standards of duty and action, drawn from the Decalogue as interpreted by Christ, are sadly wanting. Our times need less anxiety about "Apostolic Succession," and conformity to early ceremonies, and a fuller recognition of the voice of Sinai, whose echoes through the centuries demanded answering groans from sacrificial Calvary. Spiritual purity and power cannot abound unless these mountains stand over against each other as God placed them, and as Christ's sacrifice emphasized them. Our times do not need familiarity with the speculative geography of Purgatory, nor the "possible chances" of the unknown future, so much as they need to know *that sin is exceeding sinful, and is accompanied by its executioner.*

Last July I said to Professor Adolph Harnack: "Will the Protestantism of the next century be more spiritual than now, or less?" He said: "It will be more spiritual, or it will die." I continued: "If it dies, what will be the next scene in Church history?" He answered: "*Roman Catholicism will take possession of the world as a new form of paganism.*"

In the presence of such an answer, from such a man, it is enough to add that Roman Catholicism was germinant in paganized Christianity before the close of the second century. Protestantism has done so little towards the extinction of these errors that the late Roman Catholic Congress at Baltimore declared it a foe no longer to be feared. Be this as it may, the evils and errors which found a place in Christianity before the close of the second century are not wholly eradicated. Though modified by circumstances, they have not lost their essential nature. They are not less dangerous now than when the Holy Spirit condemned them at the lips of the great Apostle to the Gentiles.

There remains only time to name the third element of corruption, spoken of in the opening of this paper. Union of Church and State became operative when the Roman

Empire took Christianity under its protection, to be governed and regulated, according to the pagan idea which made religion a department of the State. This form of corruption spread rapidly, since the failing Empire fostered Christianity with great eagerness and liberality, hoping to gain new strength, and greater help from the God of the Christians, than it had gained from the gods of its decaying system. This error was positively forbidden by the words of Him who said: "My kingdom is not of this world."

NOTE.—The author of the foregoing essay is aware that brevity makes it unsatisfactory. No two centuries can be separated from history, especially centuries which have left such slight records as those included in the essay. That which precedes, and that which follows, must enter into the consideration of such comparatively unknown years. All who have attempted a critical examination of the period agree that influences outside of Judaism, and of the earliest Christianity, conspired to determine the character of much that is called Christian doctrine. To supplement the brevity of the essay, the author adds a partial list of books which have been examined in gathering the material from which it has been deduced. Every examination should begin with Patristic literature, and with the standard Church histories of *all schools*. So little has been written upon the specific theme, that a wide range of reading is demanded, if one would reach the ultimate facts. The investigator must also avoid the common error of judging the first two centuries in the light of the nineteenth. It will not do to read the facts of the present, into the history of the past; neither can we safely supply the gaps in history by our ideas of what ought to have been. First of all, the essayist desires to record his special obligations to Prof. Adolph Harnack, of Berlin, Germany, for the favor of personal consultation concerning the theme of the essay; and to commend his "*Dogmengeschichte*" as most valuable in showing the influence of Greek paganism on early Christianity. The greater part of the works named were examined in the British Museum; they are given without chronological arrangement:

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SOME RELICS OF EARLY PRESBYTERIANISM IN
MARYLAND.

SOME RELICS OF EARLY PRESBYTERIANISM IN MARYLAND.

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There are among the archives of Maryland preserved at Annapolis (the colonial records are perhaps the best in the country) some curious documentary proofs of the existence of a large number of Puritans in the colony. Indeed, these State papers contain almost all the account that we have of their presence there at an early date, as all their purely ecclesiastical documents have perished. They were there, however, from a very early period, and in such large numbers, that Maryland cannot be called a Roman Catholic colony in the sense that Massachusetts can be called a Puritan colony, or Virginia a colony of the Cavaliers. The Protestants were in the majority from the very beginning, as the reports of the Jesuit fathers clearly show. The celebrated Act of Toleration was evidently a compromise between the Lord Proprietor and his Protestant subjects, a piece of legislation which reflects great credit upon the common-sense of Lord Baltimore, even if we may suspect that on this occasion he made a virtue of necessity. Of these Protestants so large a number were Puritans in their sympathies, that they ruled the colony during the Commonwealth, passing a law, which is little to their credit, which deprived both Papists and prelatists of any part in the government. For a long time the colony continued Puritan in its tone. So late as 1676 Lord Baltimore objected to the proposed action of the Privy Council of

England looking toward the establishment of the Church of the mother country as the established church of Maryland, on the ground that the large majority of the inhabitants of the province were either Presbyterians, Independents, or Quakers. He represents those of his own faith as being but a small minority. The Episcopalians, also, did not form a majority until some time after the establishment of the Church of England, at the beginning of the next century.

Of the many incidental proofs of the prevalence of Puritanism in so unexpected a quarter, one of the most curious is a marriage-vow, which the writer came across in a very ancient tome, written in a very crabbed hand with ink whose blackness had faded into a yellow only a little darker than the page on which it was written. One did not expect to find among the musty records of ancient deeds and grants this old love-letter, for so we may almost call it. We think it is worth preserving, and so we transcribe it. The vow was entered into by Edith Bayne and Jonathan Marles. You will see that it is a rather one-sided affair, as the lady apparently did all the vowing, at least so far as the records show. Who this Jonathan Marles was we do not know, except that he was a planter of Charles County, Maryland. Of Edith Bayne we know a good deal, for she was connected with some of the most prominent people in the colony. Her father, Walter Bayne,—or Bean, as it is sometimes written,—came from Southwark, England, where he had a brother, a merchant. He was in Maryland prior to 1642, for in that year he sat in the Assembly as a burgess. His name appears frequently on the records of the province. His home was not far from the present village of Port Tobacco.

Why such a vow was entered into does not appear. It may have been from the scarcity of ministers in the province. It may have been from sympathy with the doctrines of the Quakers, who about this time were beginning to spread rapidly in Maryland. Whatever its *raison d'être*, it has a strong Puritan tone about it, reminding us rather of New England than of Lord Baltimore and the Cavaliers. It is entitled:

A MARRIAGE VOW BETWEEN EDITH BAYNE AND JONATHAN MARLES.

In the name of the most high and mighty Jehovah everlasting glorious and blessed to all eternity to whom be all honor and praise ascribed, who by his divine wisdom created the heavens and the earth and all that in them is according to Thy blessed will and hath formed mankind in the likeness of thine own image, and placed him chiefe above all other creatures, therefore to thee that art that great and mighty Judge of heaven and earth unto whom all flesh shall come to be judged by thee and to give the account of all our deeds done or committed in the body whether good or evill and to answer before thy Divine majesty for every Idle word much more for every solemn vow and engagement contracted in thy Glorious presence. therefore in the presence of the most Great and Glorious God and as I shall hope and doe ever expect mercie and salvation from him by the meritt of my deare Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I Edith Bayne doe freely and fully dedicate and contract myself unto thee Jonathan Marles to be thy own and lawful by a full and mutuall consent of my hart in love to thee above all others and never shall nor will yield to love or like of any other but thee during each other's life. But will remain thy firm and faithful and constant wife untill death shall separate us, therefore having solemnized my troth unto thee in the presence of Almighty God claiming his assistance in the performance hereof that as he hath by his divine providence knit and tyed our harts in the perfect bond of unity here, soo he may seal up our souls in everlasting happyness hereafter. In testimony whereof before the great and glorious God doe subscribe myselfe unto thee Jonathan Marles to be thy own and lawful lyall and constant and ever loving wife till Death Death Death.

EDITH BAYNE,
[Sealed.]

Sealed signed and delivered
in the presence of Almighty God 27th day of October 1665.

After all this love and theology, which seems to have put a severe strain upon the writer of the document to inscribe, let us hope that the union was a happy one. It was not a long-lived one, however. For in the will of Walter Bayne, dated April 12, 1670, we find a bequest to "my eldest

daughter Edith, the present wife of Mr. Matthew Hill." Mr. Matthew Hill was a Presbyterian clergymen, mentioned by Calamy as one of the victims of the Act of Uniformity. He had a church in Maryland as early as 1669, which he describes in a letter to the celebrated Richard Baxter, and was one of the first Presbyterian ministers to settle in America.

Among other papers which came under the eye of the writer was a list, found in a most unexpected quarter of the library of Rev. Nathaniel Taylor, one of the original members of the first Presbytery ever formed in America. He was pastor of the church at Upper Marlboro or Patuxent, Prince George County, Maryland. He was pastor there as early as 1704, and died there about January, 1710.

The library numbered over five hundred volumes. It would be impossible to give any thing like an analysis that would be thorough. A few notes and reflections, however, may not be out of place.

The library is a very fine one, and interesting as showing the learning of one whom we look up to as one of the founders of the Presbyterian Church. The list starts out with a very ponderous folio, "*Biblia Hebraica cum latina interpretatione Xantes Pagnini, Ariae Montani, nec non libri apochryphi et Testamenti Greci cum vulgata ariae Montani,*" etc. This and a copy of the Psalms and Lamentations are the only books in Hebrew. Taylor possessed the lexicon of Buxtof, and his grammar; also that of Martinius. His Greek collection also was rather slender. It consisted of two Greek Testaments, the Septuagint, and the works of Themistius. He had, however, a fine library of Latin authors, embracing Terence, Suetonius, Horace, Tacitus, Ovid, Juvenal, Persius, Quintilian, Gellius; and Hesiod and Herodian in Latin. Besides these there were over a hundred more, chiefly theological works. There is not much of patristic lore to be found among them. "*Augustine's Confessions,*" "*Minucius Felix,*" the "*Romance of Heliodorus,*" and the "*Life of Martin of Tours,*" by Sulpicius Severus, make up the list. Perhaps

the best known volume of the remaining works is Milton's famous "Defence of the English People." The list is very rich in Puritan theology. No less than sixteen of the Westminster divines are represented. Among them we find such names as Tuckney, Reynolds, Selden, Burgess, Wallis, and Calamy. To these we might add a long list of other Puritan authors, famous and otherwise, such as Baxter, Howe, Owen, Charnock, Poole, etc. Baxter seems to have been a great favorite with Taylor, for we find most of his works in this collection. Nor are the divines of the Church of England neglected, as a long list will prove, including Prideaux, Cudworth, Pearson, Stillingfleet, Jeremy Taylor, Cave, Burnett, and Barrow. His theology was not, however, confined to English writers. We find in the library such books as the works of Ramus, Clericus, Ravenel, Grotius, Buxtorf, Cappelus, Amyraut, and Spanheim. It even includes such Roman Catholic authors as Baronius, Petavius, and Salmeron. Taylor was no lover of the Quakers, as indeed were none of the clergy of that day. He had several works written against them, such as "Ye Snake in Ye Grass." One thing seems a little strange, and that is, that among all these theological works only one written by a Scotchman appears, viz., "Buchanan on the Psalms." This shows how independent English Presbyterianism was of its sister Church in Scotland. This fact appears again in another form, when we discover among these books a number of Tate and Brady's Psalms, which were evidently used in the worship of the Marlboro Church, thus showing that it was to the Church of England rather than to the Church of Scotland that the English Nonconformists looked for their Church music.

Another interesting fact comes out in examining the catalogue, namely, the love of science which their owner possessed. We find a number of works on geography, grammar, arithmetic, and physics. The library is quite up with the times, for we find among the books those of Boyle, Newton, and Locke, some of which had but recently been published. Besides these we find others, notably the works

of Bacon, Montaigne, and Hobbes. The omissions are quite striking. There is no light reading except two or three books of poetry, by writers now unread, indeed unknown to any except the bookworm. What surprises us more is that not one of the great poets of England finds a place in this library of one who was so evidently a man of culture. Did the Rev. Nathaniel think, with the authors of the Larger Catechism, that stage plays are forbidden by the Seventh Commandment? Did he think the "Faerie Queene" and the "Paradise Lost" beneath his notice? Did he think them unclerical, or was it because he had no taste for poetry, that he banished all works of the imagination from his severely intellectual library. Two theological omissions seem strange to us. We find no works by either Bunyan or Calvin. But Bunyan's absence may be accounted for by the fact that he was as yet unrecognized by the college and the rectory. Calvin's place was supplied by his English followers, Ussher and the great Puritan divines.

Two thoughts suggest themselves in closing. Does this list of books throw any light upon the vexed question, which was once a subject of controversy between Dr. Hodge and Dr. Hill, as to who their owner, the Rev. Nathaniel Taylor, was. The question owed its importance to the fact that Taylor was one of the founders of Presbyterianism in the United States. Do we owe our origin to England or to Scotland? It was claimed by some that the Presbyterian Church owes nothing to English Puritanism. Dr. Balch stated, on family tradition, that Taylor came from Scotland with Ninian Beall. That tradition has elsewhere been shown by the writer to be utterly untrue; this library is an additional proof of the untrustworthiness of said tradition. It is simply impossible that this can be the library of a Scotch clergyman, seeing that there are no Scotch books in it either of theology or psalmody.

Whither then does this library point as to its probable origin? It suggests the owner as one who was a London Nonconformist clergyman, one who had recently come from England, and was interested in the scientific proceedings of

the struggling Royal Society. Is it building too much on so slight a foundation to say, that the person who best answers all the facts in the case is Nathaniel Taylor, the son of the famous Nathaniel Taylor, a well-known Nonconformist divine of the latter part of the seventeenth century, who preached in London at Salters Hall, and whose eloquence earned for him the name of the Dissenting South. We know that he had a son named Nathaniel, and it is probable that this is he, who so mysteriously turns up in the province of Maryland about the year 1704. What became of this library? This is a sad question. We do not know. The only thing now known to have been in the possession of the learned divine is a handsome communion service of English plate, now used by the Presbyterian Church of Hyattsville, once part of the old Patuxent Parish. Oh! that some of the wealthy planters of Southern Maryland had had the foresight and the generosity to found a school of the prophets, and present to it this library as a noble beginning. But they did not. And so until this late day, they and their learned pastor, Nathaniel Taylor, remain "unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

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